This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

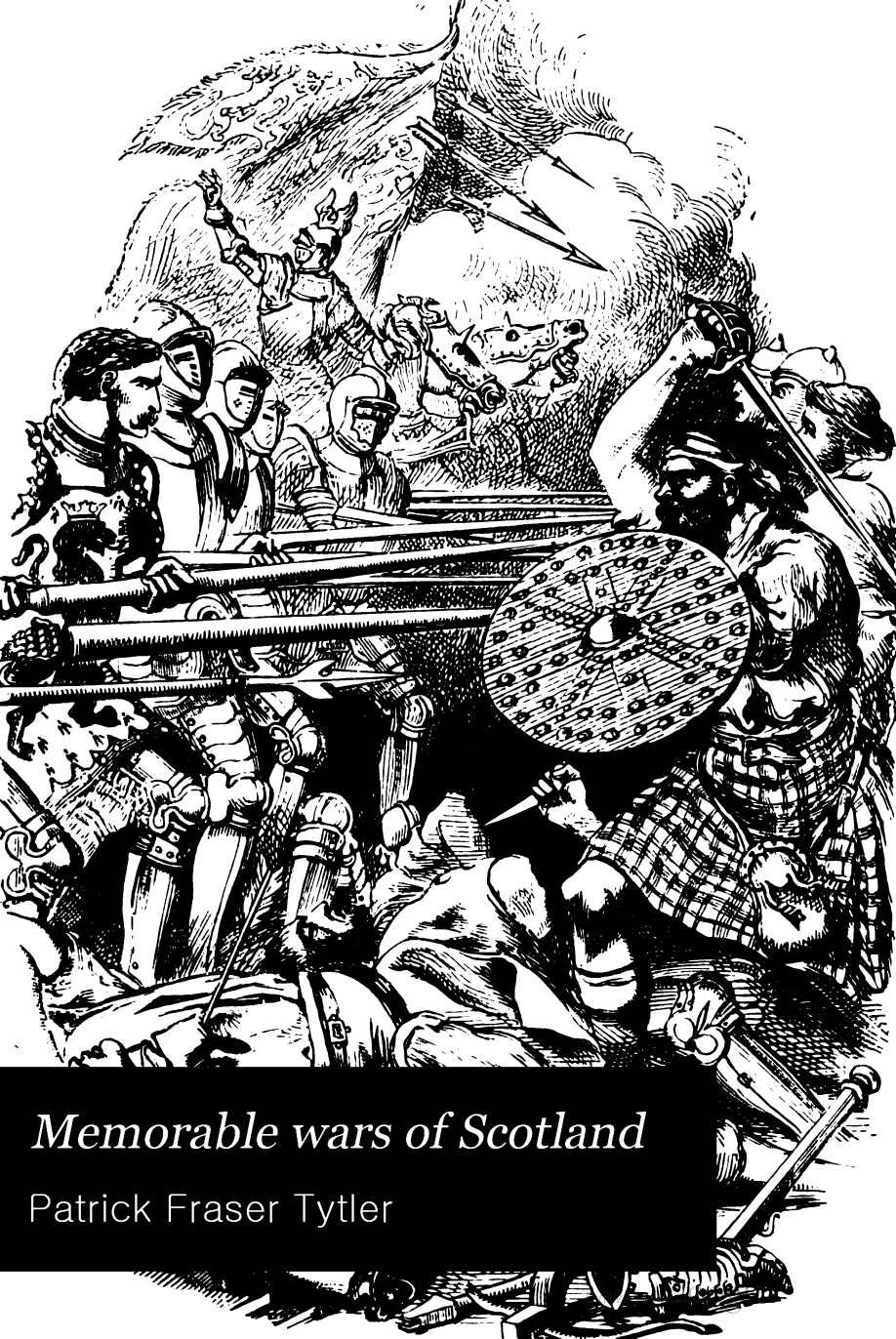
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



Memorable wars of Scotland

Patrick Fraser Tytler

Accessions
78790
Shelf No.
941
T99
FOUNDED 1874
HAVERHILL
SETTLED 1640 INSTITUTED A CITY 1870
HAVERHILL PUBLIC LIBRARY
Haverhill Public Library. Condemned.
Received Jan. 15. 1908

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

.60 KD 32160

Digitized by Google

MEMORABLE WARS OF SCOTLAND.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Wars of Scotland.—*Frontispiece.*

Digitized by Google

MEMORABLE

WARS OF SCOTLAND

BY

PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, F.R.S.E., F.A.S.

AUTHOR OF 'THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,' ETC.

EDINBURGH

W. P. NIMMO, HAY, & MITCHELL

1896

Digitized by Google

KD 32160

HARVARD
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
47*37

941
T99
78790

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
THE BATTLE OF LARGS,	1
THE BATTLES OF STIRLING AND FALKIRK,	24
THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN,	59
THE BATTLE OF HARLAW,	87
THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN,	97
THE BATTLE OF PINKIE,	125
THE BATTLE OF HOMILDON HILL,	144
THE BATTLE OF LANGSIDE,	153
THE SIEGE OF EDINBURGH,	171
THE BATTLE OF GLENLIVAT.	197

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

NOTE.

THE following accounts of the Memorable Wars of Scotland, during the period of that country's history embraced between the years 1249 and 1603, are taken from Patrick Fraser Tytler's *History of Scotland, from the Accession of Alexander III. to the Union*, which work has been universally acknowledged by the most eminent critical authorities as the ablest and most comprehensive one on the subject which has yet been published.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

MEMORABLE WARS OF SCOTLAND

THE BATTLE OF LARGS.

IN the early part of the year 1262, a rupture took place between Alexander III. of Scotland, and Haco, King of Norway, regarding the possession of the Western Islands or Hebrides of Scotland, the petty chiefs of which had for a long period been feudatory to the Norwegian crown. Their habits of constant war and piratical excursion had at this time rendered the Norwegians a formidable people; and their near vicinity to Scotland enabled them, at a very early period, to overspread the whole of the Western Archipelago. The little sovereignties of these islands, under the protection of a warlike government, appear to have been in a flourishing condition. They were

Digitized by Google

crowded with people; and the useful and ornamental arts were carried on in them to a higher degree of perfection than in the other European countries. Even in science and literature, this remarkable people had, in their colonies especially, attained to no inconsiderable distinction.

The vicinity of such enterprising neighbours was particularly irksome to the Scottish kings, and they anxiously endeavoured to get possession of these islands. When treaty failed, they encouraged their subjects of Scotland to invade them; and Alan, lord of Galloway, assisted by Thomas, earl of Athole, about thirty years before this, carried on a successful war against the isles, and expelled Olaf the Black, king of Man, from his dominions. These Scottish chiefs had collected a large fleet, with a proportionably numerous army; and it required all the exertions of the Norwegian king to re-establish his vassal on his island throne. After this, the authority of Norway became gradually more and more precarious throughout the isles. Some of the chiefs were compelled, others induced by motives of interest, to renounce their allegiance, and to embrace the nearer superiority of Scotland: some, who held lands of both crowns, were uncertain to whom they should pay their paramount allegiance; and Alexander the Second, the immediate predecessor of Alexander the Third, after an unsuccessful attempt at negotiation,

Digitized by Google

prepared an expedition for their complete reduction. The expressions used in threatening this invasion may convince us that the Norwegians had not only acquired the sovereignty of the isles, but had established themselves upon the mainland of Scotland; for the Scottish king declares, "that he will not desist till he hath set his standard upon the cliffs of Thurso, and subdued all that the King of Norway possessed to the westward of the German Ocean." Alexander the Second, however, lived only to conduct his fleet and army to the shores of Argyleshire; and, on the king's death, the object of the expedition was abandoned.

During the minority of Alexander the Third, all idea of reducing the isles seems to have been abandoned; but when the king was no longer a boy, the measure was seriously resumed: and after an unsuccessful embassy to the Norwegian court, the earl of Ross and other island chiefs were induced to invade the reguli, or petty kings of the Hebrides, in the western seas. Their expedition was accompanied with circumstances of extreme cruelty. The ketherans and soldiers of the isles, if we may believe the Norwegian Chronicles, not content with the sack of villages and the plunder of churches, in their wanton fury raised the children on the points of their spears, and shook them till they fell down to their hands; barbarities which might be thought incredible, were

Digitized by Google

we not acquainted with the horrid atrocities which, even in our own days, have accompanied piratic warfare.

Such conduct effectually roused Haco, the Norwegian king. He determined to revenge the injuries offered to his vassals, and immediately issued orders for the assembling of a fleet and army, whilst he repaired in person to Bergen to superintend the preparations for the expedition. The magnitude of these spread an alarm even upon the coasts of England. It was reported that the Kings of Denmark and Norway, with an overwhelming fleet, had bent their course against the Scottish islands; and although the apparent object of Haco was nothing more than the protection of his vassals, yet the final destination of so powerful an armament was anxiously contemplated.

On the 7th of July, the fleet set sail from Herlover. The king commanded in person. His ship, which had been built at Bergen, was entirely of oak, of great dimensions, and ornamented with richly-carved dragons, overlaid with gold. Everything at first seemed to favour the expedition. It was midsummer, the day was fine, and innumerable flags and pennons flaunted in the breeze; the decks were crowded with knights and soldiers, whose armour glittered in the sun; and the armament, which was considered as the most powerful and splendid that had ever sailed

Digitized by Google

from Norway, bore away with a light wind for Shetland, which it reached in two days. Haco thence sailed to Orkney, where he proposed to separate his forces into two divisions, and to send one of these to plunder in the Firth of Forth; whilst he himself remained in reserve, with his largest ships and the greater part of his army, in Orkney. It happened, however, that the higher vassals and retainers, who appear to have had a powerful influence in the general direction of the expedition, refused to go anywhere without the king himself; and this project was abandoned. The fleet, therefore, directed its course to the south; and, after being joined by a small squadron which had previously been despatched to the westward, Haco conducted his ships into the bay of Ronaldsvoe, and sent messengers to the neighbouring coast of Caithness to levy contributions. This country, exposed from its situation to perpetual piratic invasions, was previously under the dominion of Norway. But the exertions of the Scottish government had succeeded in reducing the inhabitants; hostages were exacted for their fidelity; and in 1263 this remote district in the state of a Scottish province was exposed to the exactions of Norway.

No aid, however, appeared from Scotland; and the Caithnessians quietly submitted to the tribute which Haco imposed upon them. It is remarked by the Norwegian Chronicle, that when their king lay with

Digitized by Google

his fleet in Ronaldsvoe, "a great darkness drew over the sun, so that only a little ring was bright round his orb." The ancient historian thus unconsciously afforded to modern science the means of exactly ascertaining the date of this great expedition. The eclipse was calculated, and it was found to have taken place on the 5th of August 1263, and to have been annular at Ronaldsvoe in Orkney: a fine example of the clear and certain light reflected by the exact sciences upon history. Early in August, the king sailed across the Pentland Firth, having left orders for the Orkney men to follow him when their preparations were completed; thence he proceeded by the Lewes to the Isle of Skye, where he was joined by Magnus, the lord of Man; and from this holding on to the Sound of Mull, he met Dugal and other Hebridean chiefs with their whole forces.

The united armament of Haco now amounted to above a hundred vessels, most of them large, all well provided with men and arms; and, on the junction of the fleet, the business of piracy commenced. A division of the forces first took place. A squadron of fifty ships, under Magnus and Dugal, was sent to plunder in the Mull of Kantire; five ships were despatched for the same purpose to Bute; and the king himself, with the rest of the fleet, remained at Gigha, a little island between the coast of Kantire and Islay. He was here met by King John, one of

Digitized by Google

the island chiefs, whom Alexander the Second had in vain attempted to seduce from his fidelity to Norway. John was now, however, differently situated; and a scene took place which is strongly illustrative of feudal manners. Haco desired him to follow his banner, as was his duty; upon which the island prince excused himself. He affirmed that he had taken the oaths as a vassal of the Scottish king; that he held of him more lands than of his Norwegian master; and he entreated Haco to dispose of all those estates which he had conferred on him. This reasoning, although not agreeable to his powerful superior, was apparently such as Haco could not dispute; and after a short time John was dismissed, not only uninjured, but with presents.

Many of these island chiefs found themselves, during this northern invasion, in a very distressing situation. On one hand, the destroying fleet of Haco lay close to the shores of their little territories, eager to plunder them should they manifest the slightest resistance. On the other, they had given hostages for their loyal behaviour to the King of Scotland; and the liberty, perhaps the lives, of their friends or their children were forfeited if they deserted to the enemy. In this cruel dilemma was Angus, lord of Kantire and Islay, apparently a person of high authority in these parts, and whose allegiance the Scottish king seems to have adopted every method to secure. He held

Digitized by Google

his infant son as a hostage; an instrument had been drawn out, which declared his territories subject to instant forfeiture if he deserted; and the barons of Argyle were compelled to promise that they would faithfully serve the king against Angus of Islay, and unite in accomplishing his ruin, unless he continued true to his oaths. But the power of the King of Scotland was remote; the vengeance of piratical warfare was at his door; and Angus, with another island prince, Murchad of Kantire, submitted to Haco, and delivered up the whole lands which they held of Alexander. A fine of a thousand head of cattle was esteemed a proper punishment for their desertion from Norway; and when they renewed their oaths to Haco, he promised, what he did not live to perform, to reconcile them to the offended majesty of Scotland.

In the meantime, the squadron which had been despatched towards the Mull of Kantire made a desolating descent upon the peninsula; but in the midst of their havoc, and when they were proceeding to attack the greater villages, they received letters from Haco, forbidding them to plunder, and commanding them to rejoin the king's fleet at Gigha. Haco next despatched one of his captains, with some small vessels, to join the little squadron which had sailed against Bute; and intelligence soon after reached him that the castle of Rothesay, in that island, had

Digitized by Google

been taken by his soldiers, and that the Scottish garrison had capitulated. A pirate chief, named Roderic, who claimed Bute as his inheritance, but who had been opposed by the islanders and outlawed by Alexander, was at this time with Haco. His knowledge of the seas in these quarters made him useful to the invaders, and the power of Haco enabled him to gratify his revenge. He accordingly laid waste the island, basely murdered part of the garrison of Rothesay, and leading a party of plunderers from Bute into Scotland, carried fire and sword into the heart of the neighbouring country.

While the king's fleet lay at Gigha, Haco received messengers from the Irish Ostmen, with proposals of submitting themselves to his power; under the condition that he would pass over to Ireland with his fleet, and grant them his protection against the attacks of their English invaders, who had acquired the principal towns upon the coast. In reply to this proposal, the king despatched Sigurd, one of his chief captains, to communicate with the Ostmen; and in the meantime he himself, with the whole fleet, sailed round the point of Kantire, and entering the Firth of Clyde, anchored in the Sound of Kilbrannan, which lies between the island of Arran and the mainland.

Hitherto the great body of the Norwegian fleet had remained in the Hebrides, and Scotland was only made acquainted with this formidable invasion by the

Digitized by Google

small squadrons which had been despatched for the purposes of plunder. But the whole naval armament of Haco, amounting to a hundred and sixty ships, as it entered the Firth of Clyde, became conspicuous from the opposite shores of Kyle, Carrick, and Wigtown; and the more immediate danger of a descent induced the Scottish government to think seriously of some terms of pacification. Accordingly, there soon after arrived from Alexander a deputation of Prædicant, or Barefooted Friars, whose object was to sound Haco regarding the conditions upon which a peace might be concluded; and, in consequence of these overtures, five Norwegian commissioners were sent to treat with the King of Scotland. They were honourably received by Alexander, and dismissed with a promise, that such terms of accommodation as the Scottish king could consent to should be transmitted to Haco within a short time; and in the meanwhile a temporary truce was agreed on.

This was wise: for to delay any pacification, without irritating their enemy, was the manifest policy of Scotland. Every day gave them more time to levy and concentrate their army; and as the autumn was drawing to a close, it brought the Norwegians a nearer prospect of wreck and disaster from the winter storms. Envoys were now despatched from Alexander to Haco; and the moderate demands of the King of Scotland made it apparent that, at this

Digitized by Google

moment, he was not prepared to resist the fleet and army of Norway. He claimed Bute, Arran, and the two islands of the Cumbraes, all lying in the Firth of Clyde, as the property of Scotland; but it appears that he was willing to have given up to Norway the whole of the isles of the Hebrides. These terms, so advantageous to Haco, were, fortunately for Scotland, rejected; no pacification took place; and the fleet of Norway bore in through the narrow strait between the larger and the lesser Cumbrae, thus menacing a descent upon the coast of Ayrshire, which is scarcely two miles distant.

The crews had now run short of provisions, the weather was daily becoming more threatening, a strong Scottish force of armed peasants had gathered on the shore, and Haco was anxiously exhorted by his officers to give orders for a descent on the coast, were it only to recruit, by plunder, the exhausted state of their provisions. This measure, it seems, he was unwilling to adopt, without a last message to the King of Scotland; and for this purpose he sent an ambassador to Alexander, whose commission was worded in the true style of ancient chivalry. He was to propose—

"That the sovereigns should meet amicably at the head of their armies, and treat regarding a peace, which if, by the grace of God, it took place, it was well; but if the attempt at negotiation failed, he was

Digitized by Google

to throw down the gauntlet from Norway, to challenge the Scottish monarch to debate the matter with his army in the field, and let God, in His pleasure, determine the victory."

Alexander, however, would agree to no explanation; but "seemed," says the Norse Chronicle, "in no respect unwilling to fight;" upon which the envoy returned from his unsatisfactory mission, and the truce was declared at an end.

Haco next despatched a fleet of sixty ships up the Clyde, into Loch Long, under the command of Magnus, king of Man, and with him four Hebridean chiefs, and two principal Norwegian officers. They penetrated and plundered to the head of Loch Long; they then took to their boats, and dragging them across the narrow neck of land between Arrochar and Tarbet, launched them into Loch Lomond, the islands of which lake were then full of inhabitants. To these islands the Scots had retreated for security, no doubt; little anticipating the measure which the lightness of the Norwegian craft, and the active perseverance of that bold people, enabled them to carry into execution. Their safeholds now became the scenes of plunder and bloodshed; the islands were wasted with fire, the shores of this beautiful lake completely ravaged, and the houses on its borders burnt to the ground. After this, one of the Hebridean chiefs made an expedition into the rich and populous

Digitized by Google

county of Stirling, in which he slew great numbers of the inhabitants, and returned, driving herds of cattle before him, and loaded with booty.

But the measure of Norwegian success was now full: the spirit of the Scottish nation was highly exasperated—time had been given them to collect their forces—and, as had been foreseen, the elements began to fight on their side. Upon returning to their ships in Loch Long, the invaders encountered so dreadful a storm, that ten of their vessels were completely wrecked. King Haco still lay with the rest of the fleet in the Firth of Clyde, near the little islands of the Cumbraes, when, on Monday the 1st of October, a second tempest came on, accompanied with such torrents of hailstones and rain, that the Norwegians ascribe its extreme violence to the powers of enchantment—a prevalent belief at this period.* The wind blew from the south-west, making the coast of Ayrshire a lee-shore to the fleet, and thus infinitely increasing its distress. At midnight a cry of distress was heard in the king's ship; and before assistance could be given, the rigging of a transport,

* "Now our deep-inquiring sovereign encountered the horrid powers of enchantment. The troubled flood tore many fair galleys from their moorings, and swept them anchorless before its waves. . . . The roaring billows and stormy blast threw shielded companies of our adventurous nation on the Scottish strand."—*Norse Account.*

Digitized by Google

driven loose by the storm, got entangled with the royal vessel, and carried away her head. The transport then fell alongside, so that her anchor grappled the cordage of the king's ship; and Haco, perceiving the storm increasing, and finding his own ship beginning to drag her anchors, ordered the cable of the transport to be cut, and let her drift to sea. When morning came, she and another vessel were seen cast ashore. The wind still increased; and the king, imagining that the powers of magic might be controlled by the services of religion, rowed in his long boat to the islands of the Cumbraes, and there, amid the roaring of the elements, ordered mass to be celebrated. But the tempest increased in fury. Many vessels cut away their masts; his own ship, although secured by seven anchors, drove from her moorings; five galleys were cast ashore, and the rest of the fleet violently beat up the channel towards Largs.

Meanwhile, Alexander had neglected no precaution which was likely to insure the discomfiture of this great armament. Before it appeared on the coast, the warders in the different castles which commanded a view of the sea were directed to keep a strict look-out; a communication by beacons was established with the interior of the country; and now, when the tempest seemed to threaten the total destruction of their enemies, a multitude of armed peasants hovered on the surrounding heights observing every motion

Digitized by Google

of the Norwegian fleet, and ready to take instant advantage of its distress. Accordingly, when the five galleys, with their armed crews, were cast ashore, the Scots rushed down from the heights, and attacked them. The Norwegians defended themselves with great gallantry; and the king, as the wind had somewhat abated, succeeded in sending in boats with reinforcements; but as soon as their crews landed, the Scots retired, satisfying themselves with returning during the night, to plunder the transports.

When morning broke, Haco came on shore with a large reinforcement, and ordered the transports to be lightened, and towed to the ships. Soon after, the Scottish army appeared at a distance, upon the high grounds above the village of Largs; and as it advanced, the sun's rays glancing from the lines made it evident to the Norwegians that a formidable body of troops were about to attack them. The cavalry, although they only amounted to fifteen hundred horsemen, had a formidable appearance on the heights, most of them being knights or barons from the neighbouring counties, armed from head to heel, and mounted on Spanish horses, which were clothed in complete armour. All the other horses were defended with breastplates; and besides this cavalry, there was a numerous body of foot soldiers, well accoutred, and for the most part armed with spears and bows. This force was led by the king in per-

Digitized by Google

son, along with Alexander the High Steward of Scotland.

On the shore, at this time, was a body of nine hundred Norwegians, commanded by three principal leaders; two hundred men occupied in advance a small hill which rises behind the village of Largs, and the rest of the troops were drawn up on the beach. With the advance also was the king, whom, as the main battle of the Scots approached, his officers anxiously entreated to row out to his fleet, and send them further reinforcements. Haco, for some time, pertinaciously insisted on remaining on shore; but as he became more and more exposed, the barons would not consent to this, and at last prevailed on him to return in his barge to his fleet at the Cumbraes. The van of the Scottish army now began to skirmish with the advance of the Norwegians, and greatly outnumbering them, pressed on both flanks with so much fury, that, afraid of being surrounded and cut to pieces, they began a retreat, which soon changed into a flight. At this critical moment, when everything depended on Haco's returning with additional forces before the main body of the Scots had time to charge his troops on the beach, a third storm came on, which completed the ruin of the Norwegian fleet, already scattered by the former furious gales. This cut off all hopes of landing a reinforcement, and they were completely routed. Indeed, without a miracle, it

Digitized by Google

could not have been otherwise. The main body of the Scots far outnumbered the force of the Norwegians;* and their advance, under Ogmund, flying back in confusion, threw into disorder the small squadrons which were drawn up on the beach. Many of these attempted to save themselves by leaping into their boats and pushing off from land; others endeavoured to defend themselves in the transport which had been stranded; and between the anger of the elements, the ceaseless showers of missile weapons from the enemy, and the impossibility of receiving succour from the fleet, their army was greatly distressed. Their leaders, too, began to desert them; and their boats became overloaded and went down. The Norwegians were now driven along the shore, but they constantly rallied, and behaved with their accustomed national bravery. Some had placed themselves in and around the stranded vessels; and while the main body retreated slowly, and in good order, a conflict took place beside the ships, where Piers de Curry, a Scottish knight, was encountered and slain. Curry appears to have been a person of some note, for he and the Steward of Scotland are the only Scottish soldiers whose names have come down to us as acting a principal part upon this occasion. His death is minutely described in the Norwegian Chronicle.

* The Norse Account of the Expedition says that ten Scots fought against one Norwegian. This is, no doubt, exaggerated.

Digitized by Google

Gallantly mounted, and splendidly armed, his helmet and coat of mail being inlaid with gold, Sir Piers rode fearlessly up to the Norwegian line, attempting, in the chivalrous style of the times, to provoke an encounter. In this he was soon satisfied; for a Norwegian, who conducted the retreat, irritated by his defiance, engaged him in single combat; and after a short resistance, killed him by a blow which severed his thigh from his body, the sword cutting through the cuisses of his armour, and penetrating to his saddle. A conflict now took place round the body of this young knight, the plunder of whose rich armour the retreating Norwegians could not resist; their little square was thrown into confusion; and, as the Scots pressed on, the slaughter became great. Haco, a Norse baron, and near in blood to the king, was slain, along with many others of the principal leaders; and the Norwegians would have been entirely cut to pieces, if they had not at last succeeded in bringing a reinforcement from the fleet, by landing their boats through a tremendous surf.

These new troops instantly attacked the enemy upon two points; and their arrival reinspirited the Norsemen, and enabled them to form anew. It was now evening, and the day had been occupied by a protracted battle, or rather a succession of obstinate skirmishes. The Norwegians, although they fought with uncommon spirit, had sustained severe loss; and

Digitized by Google

they now made a last effort to repulse the Scots from the high grounds immediately overhanging the shore. The impetuosity of their attack succeeded, and the enemy were driven back after a short and furious resistance. The relics of this brave body of invaders, then re-embarked in their boats, and, although the storm continued, arrived safely at the fleet.

During the whole of this conflict, which lasted from morning till night, the storm continued raging with unabated fury, and the remaining ships of Haco were dreadfully shattered and distressed. They drove from their anchors, stranded on the shore, where multitudes perished—struck against shallows and rocks, or found equal destruction by running foul of each other; and the morning presented a beach covered with dead bodies, and a sea strewed with sails, masts, cordage, and all the melancholy accompaniments of wreck. A truce was now granted to the king, and the interval employed in burying his dead, and in raising above them those rude memorials which, in the shape of tumuli and huge perpendicular stone, still remain to mark the field of battle. The Norwegians then burnt the stranded vessels; and, after a few days, having been joined by the remains of the fleet, which had been sent up Loch Long, their shattered navy weighed anchor, and sailed towards Arran.

In Lamlash Bay the king was met by the commis-

Digitized by Google

sioners whom he had sent to Ireland, and they assured him that the Irish Ostmen would willingly maintain his forces, until he had freed them from the dominion of the English. Haco was eager to embrace the proposal. He appears to have been anxious to engage in any new expedition which might have banished their recent misfortunes from the minds of his soldiers, whilst it afforded him another chance of victory, with the certainty of reprovisioning the fleet; but their late disasters had made too deep an impression; and, on calling a council, the Irish expedition was opposed by the whole army.

The shattered squadron, therefore, steered for the Hebrides; and in passing Islay, again levied a large contribution on that island. The northern monarch, however, now felt the difference between sailing through this northern archipelago, as he had done a few months before, with a splendid and conquering fleet, when every day brought the island princes as willing vassals of his flag, and retreating, as he now did, a baffled invader. His boat crews were attacked, and cut off by the islanders. He appears to have in vain solicited an interview with John, the prince of the Isles. The pirate chiefs who had joined him, disappointed of their hopes of plunder, returned to their ocean strongholds; and although he went through the forms of bestowing upon his followers the islands of Bute and Arran, with other imaginary

Digitized by Google

conquests, all must have seen that the success and power of Scotland rendered these grants utterly unavailing. The weather, too, which had been his worst enemy, continued lowering, and winter had set in. The fleet encountered in their return a severe gale off Islay; and, after doubling Cape Wrath, were met in the Pentland Firth by a second storm, in which one vessel, with all on board, went down, and another narrowly escaped the same fate. The king's ship, however, with the rest of the fleet, weathered the tempest, and at last arrived in Orkney on the 29th of October.

It was here found advisable to grant the troops permission to return to Norway; as, to use the simple expression of the Norwegian Chronicle, "many had already taken leave for themselves." At first the king resolved on accompanying them; but anxiety of mind, the incessant fatigues in which he had passed the summer and autumn, and the bitter disappointment in which they ended, had sunk deep into his heart, and the symptoms of a mortal distemper began to show themselves in his constitution. His increasing sickness soon after this confined him to his chamber; and although for some time he struggled against the disease, and endeavoured to strengthen his mind by the cares of government and the consolations of religion, yet all proved in vain. At last, feeling himself dying, the spirit of the old Norse warrior

Digitized by Google

seemed to revive with the decay of his bodily frame; and, after some time spent in the services of the Church, he commanded the Chronicles of his ancestors the Pirate Kings to be read to him. On the 12th of December, the principal of the nobility and clergy, aware that there was no hope, attended in his bedchamber. Though greatly debilitated, Haco spoke distinctly, bade them all affectionately farewell, and kissed them. He then received extreme unction, and declared that he left no other heir than Prince Magnus. The Chronicle of King Swerar was still read aloud to him when he was indisposed to sleep, but soon after this his voice became inaudible; and on the 15th of December, at midnight, he expired.

Such was the conclusion of this memorable expedition against Scotland, which began with high hopes and formidable preparations, but ended in the disappointment of its object, and the death of its royal leader. It was evidently a fatal mistake in Haco to delay so long in petty expeditions against the Western Islands. While it was still summer, and the weather fair, he ought at once to have attempted a descent upon the mainland; and had he done so, Alexander migh thave been thrown into great difficulties. Delay and protracted negotiation was the policy of the Scots. They thus avoided any general battle; and they knew that if they could detain the Norwegian fleet upon the coast till the setting in of the winter

Digitized by Google

storms, its destruction was almost inevitable. Boece, in his usual inventive vein, covers the field with 25,000 dead Norwegians, and allows only four ships to have been saved to carry the king to his grave in Orkney. But all this is fiction; and the battle of Largs appears to have been nothing more than a succession of fortunate skirmishes, in which a formidable armament was effectually destroyed by the fury of the elements, judiciously seconded by the bravery of the Scots.

Digitized by Google

THE BATTLES OF STIRLING AND FALKIRK.

IN the year 1297 Sir William Wallace, at the head of a powerful army, having succeeded in expelling the English from the castles of Forfar, Brechin, Montrose, and nearly all their strongholds on the north of the Forth, had just begun the siege of the castle of Dundee, when he received intelligence that the English army, under the command of the Earl of Surrey, and Cressingham the treasurer, was on its march to Stirling. Well acquainted with the country there, his military skill taught him of what importance it would be to secure the high ground on the river Forth, above Cambuskenneth, before Surrey had passed the bridge at Stirling; and having commanded the citizens of Dundee, on pain of death, to continue the siege of the castle, he marched with great expedition, and found, to his satisfaction, that he had anticipated the English

Digitized by Google

so as to give him time to choose the most favourable position for his army, before the columns of Cressingham and Surrey had reached the other side of the river.

The nature of the ground concealed the Scottish army, which amounted to forty thousand foot, and one hundred and eighty horse. Wallace's intention was to induce the main body of the English to pass the bridge, and to attack them before they had time to form. Surrey was superior in numbers. He commanded a force of fifty thousand foot soldiers, and one thousand armed horse. Lord Henry Percy had marched from Carlisle towards Stirling, with a reinforcement of eight thousand foot and three hundred horse; but Cressingham the treasurer, dreading the expense of supporting so great a force, had, with an ill-judged economy, given orders for disbanding these succours, as he considered the army in the field to be sufficient for the emergency.

The Steward of Scotland, the Earl of Lennox, and others of the Scottish barons, were at this time with the English army; and on coming to Stirling, requested Surrey to delay an attack till they had attempted to bring Wallace to terms. They soon returned, and declared that they had failed in their hopes of pacification, but that they themselves would join the English force with sixty armed horse. It was now evening, and the Scottish barons, in leaving the army, met a troop of English soldiers returning from

Digitized by Google

forage. Whether from accident or design, a skirmish took place between these two bodies, and the Earl of Lennox stabbed an English soldier in the throat. This, of course, raised a tumult in the camp; a cry arose that they were betrayed by the Scots; and there seems to be little doubt that Lennox and his friends were secretly negotiating with Wallace, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of joining him. Crying out for vengeance, the English soldiers carried their wounded comrade before their general, and reproched him with having trusted those who had broken their faith, and would betray them to the enemy.

"Stay this one night," said he, "and if to-morrow they do not keep their promise, you shall have ample revenge."

He then commanded his soldiers to be ready to pass the bridge next day; and thus, with a carelessness little worthy of an experienced commander, who had the fate of a great army dependent on his activity and foresight, he permitted Wallace to tamper with his countrymen in the English service; to become acquainted with the numbers and array of the English force; and to adopt, at his leisure, his own measures for their discomfiture.

Early next day, five thousand foot and a large body of the Welsh passed the bridge by sunrise, and soon after repassed it, on finding that they were not followed by the rest of the army, and that the Earl of

Digitized by Google

Surrey was still asleep in the camp. After an hour, the earl awoke, the army was drawn up, and, as was then usual before any great battle, many new knights were created, some of whom were fated to die in their first field. It was now the time when the Scottish barons ought to have joined with their sixty horse; and Surrey, having looked for them in vain commanded the infantry to cross the bridge. This order was scarcely given when it was again recalled, as the Steward of Scotland and the Earl of Lennox were seen approaching, and it was hoped brought offers of pacification. But the contrary was the case. They had failed, they said, in all their efforts to prevail on the Scottish army to listen to any proposals, and had not been able to persuade a single soldier to desert. As a last resource, Surrey, who seems to have been aware of the strong position occupied by the Scots, and of the danger of crossing the river, despatched two friars to propose terms to Wallace, who made this memorable reply:—

"Return to your friends, and tell them that we came here with no peaceful intent, but ready for battle, and determined to avenge our own wrongs and set our country free. Let your masters come and attack us; we are ready to meet them beard to beard."

Incensed at this cool defiance, the English presumptuously and eagerly demanded to be led on;

Digitized by Google

upon which Sir Richard Lundin, a Scottish knight who had gone over to the enemy at Irvine, anxiously implored them to be still.

"If," said he, "you once attempt to pass the bridge, you are desperately throwing away your lives. The men can only cross two by two. Our enemies command our flank, and in an instant will be upon us. I know a ford not far from hence where you may pass by sixty at a time. Give me but five hundred horse, and a small body of foot, I shall turn the enemy's flank, whilst you, lord earl, and the rest of the army, may pass over in security."

This was the sound advice of a veteran soldier who knew the country; but although it convinced some, it only irritated others, and among these last, Hugh Cressingham the treasurer.

"Why, my lord," cried he to Surrey, who was prudently hesitating, "why do we protract the war and spend the king's money? Let us pass on, as becomes us, and do our duty."

Stung with this reproach, Surrey weakly submitted his better judgment to the rashness of this Churchman, and commanded the army to defile over the bridge. Sir Marmaduke Twenge, a knight of great experience and courage, along with Cressingham himself, led the van; and when nearly the half of the army had passed the bridge, perceiving that the Scots kept their strong ground on the heights,

Digitized by Google

Twenge, with chivalrous impetuosity, gave orders for a charge, and made the heavy-armed cavalry spur their horses up the hill. The consequence of this precipitate movement was fatal to the English. A part of the Scottish army had by this time made a circuit and possessed themselves of the foot of the bridge; and Wallace, the moment that he saw the communication between the van and the rear of the English force thus cut off, and all retreat impossible, rushed rapidly down from the high ground, and attacking Twenge and Cressingham, before they had time to form, threw them into inextricable disorder. In an instant all was tumult and confusion. Many were slain, multitudes of the heavy-armed horse plunged into the river, and were drowned in making a vain effort to rejoin Surrey, who kept on the other side, a spectator of the discomfiture of the flower of his army. In the meantime, the standard-bearers of the king and of the earl, with another part of the army, passed over, and shared the fate of their companions, being instantly cut to pieces. A spirited scene now took place. Sir Marmaduke Twenge, on looking round, perceived that the Scots had seized the bridge, and that he and his soldiers were cut off from the rest of the army. A knight advised, in this perilous crisis, that they should throw themselves into the river, and swim their horses to the opposite bank.

Digitized by Google

"What," cried Twenge, "volunteer to drown myself, when I can cut my way through the midst of them, back to the bridge! Never let such foul slander fall on us!"

So saying, he put spurs to his horse, and driving him into the midst of the enemy, hewed a passage for himself through the thickest of the Scottish columns, and rejoined his friends, with his nephew and his armour-bearer, in perfect safety.

Meanwhile the Scots committed a dreadful slaughter. It is the remark of the historian Hemingford, who describes this victory of Stirling from the information of eye-witnesses, that in all Scotland there could not be found a place better fitted for the defeat of a powerful army by a handful of men, than the ground which Wallace had chosen. Multitudes perished in the river; and as the confusion and slaughter increased, and the entire defeat of the English became inevitable, the Earl of Lennox and the Steward of Scotland, who, although allies of the king of England, were secretly in treaty with Wallace, threw off the mask, and led a body of their followers to destroy and plunder the flying English. Surrey, on being joined by Sir Marmaduke Twenge, remained no longer on the field; but having hastily ordered him to occupy the castle of Stirling, which he promised to relieve in ten days, he rode, without drawing bridle, to Berwick, a clear proof of the total defeat of the powerful army

Digitized by Google

which he had led into Scotland. From Berwick he proceeded to join the Prince of Wales in the south, and left the country which had been intrusted to him exposed to ravage and desolation. Although the English historians restrict the loss of soldiers in this fatal and important battle to five thousand foot, and a hundred heavy-armed horse, it is probable that nearly one half of the English army was cut to pieces, and Cressingham the treasurer was amongst the first who fell. Hemmingford allows that the plunder which fell into the hands of the Scots was very great, and that waggons were filled with the spoils. Smarting under the cruelty and rapacity with which they had been treated by the English, the Scots were not slow now to take their revenge, nor was Wallace of a temper to restrain his soldiers. Few prisoners seem to have fallen into their hands, and the slaughter was general and indiscriminate. So deep was the detestation in which the character of Cressingham was regarded, that his dead body was mangled, the skin torn from the limbs, and in savage triumph cut into pieces.

The decisive nature of the defeat is, perhaps, most apparent from the important consequences which attended it. To use the words of Knighton, "this awful beginning of hostilities roused the spirit of Scotland, and sunk the hearts of the English." Dundee immediately surrendered to Wallace, and rewarded

Digitized by Google

his army by a rich booty of arms and money. In a short time not a fortress or castle in Scotland remained in the hands of Edward. The castles of Edinburgh and Roxburgh were dismantled; and Berwick, upon the advance of the Scottish army having been hastily abandoned, Wallace sent Henry de Haliburton, a Scottish knight, to occupy this important frontier town. Thus, by the efforts of Wallace, a single man, not only unassisted, but actually thwarted and opposed by the nobility of the country, was the iron power of Edward completely broken, and Scotland once more able to lift her head among free nations.

A dreadful dearth and famine, no unfrequent accompaniment of the ravages of war, now fell severely upon the country; and Wallace, profiting by the panic inspired by his victory at Stirling, resolved upon an immediate expedition into England. To enable his own people to lay in against the time of scarcity, the provisions which would otherwise be consumed by his numerous army, and to support his soldiers during the winter months in an enemy's country, were wise objects. Previous, however, to his marching into England, he commanded that from every county, barony, town, and village, a certain proportion of the fighting men, between sixteen and sixty, should be levied. These levies, however, even after so decisive a victory as that of Stirling, were tardily made. The

Digitized by Google

vassals of Scotland, tied up by the rigid fetters of the feudal law, could not join Wallace without the authority of their overlords; and as most of the Scottish nobility had left hostages for their fidelity in the hands of Edward, and many of them possessed great estates in England, which, upon joining Wallace, would have immediately been forfeited, they did not yet dare to take the field against the English. A jealousy, too, of the high military renown and great popularity of Wallace prevented all cordial co-operation; and the contempt with which this deliverer of his country must have regarded the nobility, who yet sheltered themselves under the protection of Edward, was not calculated to allay this feeling. The battle of Stirling was fought on the 11th of September; and on the 25th of that month, the English government, alarmed at the success of Wallace, sent letters to the principal Scottish nobility, praising them for their fidelity to the king; informing them that they were aware the Earl of Surrey was on his way to England, (a delicate way of noticing the flight of Warenne from Stirling;) and directing them to join Brian Fitz-Alan, the governor of Scotland, with all their horse and foot, in order to put down the rebellion of the Scots. The only nobles with whom the English government did not communicate were the Earls of Caithness, Ross, Mar, Athole, Fife, and Carrick. Fife, however,

Digitized by Google

was a minor; the others, we may presume, had by this time joined the party of Wallace.

The great majority of the nobles being still against him, this intrepid leader found it difficult to procure new levies, and was constrained to adopt severe measures against all who were refractory. Gibbets were erected in each barony and county town; and some burgesses of Aberdeen, who had disobeyed the summons, were hanged. After this example he soon found himself at the head of a numerous army; and having taken with him, as his partner in command, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, then a young soldier of great promise, and afterwards regent of the kingdom, he marched towards the north of England, and threatened Northumberland. Such was the terror inspired by the approach of the Scots, that the whole population of this county, with their wives and children, their cattle and household goods, deserted their dwellings, and took refuge in Newcastle. The Scots, to whom plunder was a principal object, delayed their advance; and the Northumbrians, imagining the danger to be over, returned home; but Wallace, informed of this by his scouts, made a rapid march across the border, and dreadfully ravaged the two counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, carrying off an immense booty, and having the headquarters of his army in the forest of Rothebury.

After this, Wallace assembled his whole army, and

Digitized by Google

proceeded in his destructive march to Carlisle. He did not deem it prudent, however, to attack this city, which was strongly garrisoned; and contented himself with laying waste Cumberland and Annandale from Inglewood forest to Derwentwater and Cockermouth. It was next determined to invade the county of Durham, which would have been easily accomplished, as three thousand foot and a hundred armed horse were all that could be mustered for its defence. But the winter now set in with great severity. The frost was so intense, and the scarcity of provisions so grievous, that multitudes of the Scots perished by cold or famine, and Wallace commanded a retreat. On returning to Hexham, where there was a rich monastery, which had already been plundered and deserted on the advance, a striking scene occurred.

Three monks were seen in the solitary monastery. Thinking that the tide of war had passed over, they had crept back, to repair the ravages they had left, when suddenly they saw the army returning, and fled in terror into a little chapel. In a moment the Scottish soldiers with their long lances were upon them, calling, on peril of their lives, to show them the treasures of their monastery.

"Alas!" said one of the monks, "it is but a short time since you yourselves have seized our whole property, and you know best where it now is."

Digitized by Google

At this moment Wallace himself came into the chapel, and, commanding his soldiers to be silent, requested one of the canons to celebrate mass. The monk obeyed, and Wallace, all armed as he was, and surrounded by his soldiers, reverently attended. When it came to the elevation of the host, he stepped out of the chapel to cast off his helmet and lay aside his arms, but in this short absence the fury and avarice of his soldiers broke out. They pressed on the priest, snatched the chalice from the altar, tore away its ornaments and the sacred vestments, and even stole the missal in which the service had been begun. When their master returned, he found the priest in horror and dismay, and gave orders that the sacrilegious wretches who had committed the outrage should be sought for and put to death. Meanwhile he took the canons under his protection.

"Remain with me," said he; "it is that alone which can secure you. My soldiers are evil disposed. I cannot justify, and I dare not punish them." This sacrilegious attack was the more unpardonable, as the monastery of Hexham was dedicated to the patron saint of Scotland, and enjoyed a perpetual protection from King David. Wallace, to atone for the outrage, granted a charter of protection to the priory and convent, by which its lands, men, and movables, were admitted under the peace of the king, and all persons interdicted from doing them

Digitized by Google

injury. The Scots now advanced to Newcastle, but finding the garrison prepared to stand a siege, they contented themselves with ravaging the adjacent country; and having collected the booty, they allotted their part to the Galwegians who were with the army, and marched homewards.

In revenge for this terrible visitation, Lord Robert Clifford collected the strength of Carlisle and Cumberland, and twice invaded Annandale with an army of twenty thousand foot and a hundred horse. On passing the Solway, it was proclaimed by sound of trumpet that every soldier should plunder for himself, and keep his own booty; on hearing which, the infantry with undisciplined rapacity dispersed, and the horse alone remained together. In consequence of this, nothing was effected worthy of so powerful an army. Three hundred and eight Scots were slain, ten villages or hamlets burnt, and a few prisoners taken. This happened at Christmas. In his second inroad, the town of Annan, and the church of Gysborne, were burnt and plundered. Annandale belonged to Robert Bruce; and the destruction of his lands and villages determined him once more to desert the English, and join the party of the patriots.

This general revolt of the Scots, and that rapid success with which it was attended, determined the English Regency to summon a parliament at London, on the 10th of October. To this assembly came the

Digitized by Google

Earl of Norfolk and the Earl of Hereford, the one Marshal and the other Constable of England, with so powerful a body of their retainers, that they overawed its proceedings; and aware of the trying emergency in which the rebellion of the Scots had placed the king, they declared that no aids or levies should be granted against the Scots, unless the Great Charter, and the Charter of the Forests, were ratified, along with an additional clause, which prohibited any aid or tillage from being exacted, without the consent of the prelates, nobles, knights, and other freemen. Edward was startled when informed of these demands. His affairs detained him in Flanders, where accounts had reached him of the whole of Scotland having been wrested from his hand by Wallace: he was still engaged in a war with France; and, thus surrounded by difficulties, it was absolutely necessary for him to make every sacrifice to remain on good terms with his barons. He accordingly, after three days' deliberation, consented to confirm all the charters which had been sent over to him; and having wisely secured the affections of his nobility, he directed letters to the earls and barons of England, commanding them, as they valued his honour, and that of the whole kingdom, to meet at York on the 14th January, and thence, under the orders of the Earl of Surrey, to proceed into Scotland, and put down the rebellion of that nation. At the same time

Digitized by Google

he sent letters to the great men of Scotland, requiring them on their fealty to attend the muster at York, and denouncing them as public enemies if they refused.

These seasonable favours granted to the nobility, and the good grace with which Edward bestowed them, although, in truth, they were extorted from him much against his inclination, rendered the king highly popular; so that at York, on the day appointed, there was a great muster of the military force of the kingdom. There came the Earl Marshal and the Great Constable of England, the Earl of Surrey, the king's lieutenant against the Scots, the Earls of Gloucester and Arundel, Lord Henry Percy, John de Wake, John de Segrave, Guido, son of the Earl of Warwick, and many other powerful earls and barons. Having waited in vain for the Scottish nobles whom Edward had summoned to attend—an order which, as the result showed, the dread of Wallace rather than the love of their country compelled them to disobey—the English nobles appointed a general muster of their forces to be held eight days after, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, purposing from thence to march against the enemy. Here they accordingly met, and the army, both in numbers and equipment, was truly formidable. There were two thousand heavy cavalry, armed both horse and man at all points, along with two thousand light horse, and a hundred thousand

Digitized by Google

foot, including the Welsh. With this force they marched across the border, and advanced to Roxburgh. This important fortress was then invested by Wallace; and the garrison, worn out by a long siege, were in a state of great distress, when the army of Surrey made its appearance, and the Scots thought it prudent to retire. After relieving "their wounded countrymen," the English skirmished as far as Kelso, and returned to occupy Berwick, which had been in the hands of the Scots since the battle of Stirling. They found it deserted, and brought a joyful relief to the castle, the garrison of which had stoutly held out, whilst the rest of the town was in possession of the enemy.

Edward, in the meantime, having learnt in Flanders the strength of the army which awaited his orders, was restless and impatient till he had joined them in person. His anger against the Scots, and his determination to inflict a signal vengeance upon their perfidy on again daring to defend their liberties, had induced him to make every sacrifice, that he might proceed with an overwhelming force against this country. For this purpose, he hastened to conclude a truce with the King of France, and to refer their disputes to the judgment of Boniface the Pope. He wrote to the Earl of Surrey not to march into Scotland till he had joined the army in person; and having rapidly concluded his affairs in Flanders, he

Digitized by Google

took shipping, and landed at Sandwich, where he was received with much rejoicing and acclamation. Surrey, on receiving letters from the king to delay his expedition, had retained with him a small proportion of his troops, and dismissed the rest; but the moment Edward set his foot in England, he directed his writs, by which he summoned the whole military power of the kingdom to meet him at York, on the Feast of Pentecost, with horse and arms, to proceed against the Scots. He also commanded all the earls and barons, with two knights of every shire, and the representatives from the towns and burghs, to attend his parliament to be held in that city; and summoned the nobility of Scotland, unless they chose to be treated as vassals who had renounced their allegiance, to be there also on the day appointed. To this summons they paid no regard. Those who had accompanied him in his expedition to Flanders, on his embarkation for England, forsook him, and resorted to the French king; and the rest of the Scottish barons, although jealous of Wallace, dreaded the vengeance which his power and high authority as governor entitled him to inflict on them. Meanwhile Edward, having commanded his army to rendezvous at Roxburgh on the 24th of June, with misplaced devotion, made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St John of Beverley. The sacred standard of this saint, held in deep reverence by the king and the army, had been

Digitized by Google

carried with the host in the former war; and it is probable Edward would not lose the opportunity of taking it along with him in this expedition.

On coming to Roxburgh, he found himself at the head of an army more formidable in their number, and more splendid in their equipment, than even that which had been collected by the Earl of Surrey six months before. He had seven thousand horse, three thousand heavy-armed, both men and horse, and four thousand light cavalry. His infantry consisted at first of eighty thousand men, mostly Welsh and Irish; but these were soon strengthened by the arrival of a powerful reinforcement from Gascony, amongst whom were five hundred horse, splendidly armed, and admirably mounted. On reviewing his troops, Edward found that the Constable and Marshal, with the barons of their party, refused to advance a step until the confirmation of the Great Charter and the Charter of the Forests had been ratified by the king in person: so jealous were they of their new rights, and so suspicious lest he should plead that his former consent, given when in foreign parts, did not bind him within his own dominions. Edward dissembled his resentment; and evaded their demand, by bringing forward the Bishop of Durham, and the Earls of Surrey, Norfolk, and Lincoln, who solemnly swore, on the soul of their lord the king, that on his return, if he obtained the victory, he would accede to their

Digitized by Google

request. Compelled to rest satisfied with this wary promise, which he afterwards tried in every way to elude, the refractory barons consented to advance into Scotland.

Meanwhile that country, notwithstanding the late expulsion of its enemies, was little able to contend with the superior numbers and discipline of the army now led against it. It was cruelly weakened by the continued dissensions and jealousy of its nobility. Ever since the elevation of Wallace to the rank of Governor of Scotland, the greater barons had envied his assumption of power; and, looking upon him as a person of ignoble birth, had seized all opportunities to despise and resist his authority. These selfish jealousies were increased by the terror of Edward's military renown, and in many by the fear of losing their English estates; so that at the very time when an honest love of liberty, and a simultaneous spirit of resistance, could alone have saved Scotland, its nobility deserted their country, and refused to act with the only man whose success and military talents were equal to the emergency. The governor, however, still endeavoured to collect the strength of the land. John Comyn of Badenoch, the younger, Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, Sir John Graham of Abercorn, and Macduff, the grand-uncle of the Earl of Fife, consented to act along with him; whilst Robert Bruce, maintaining a suspicious neutrality, remained

Digitized by Google

with a strong body of his vassals in the castle of Ayr.

The plan adopted by Wallace for the defence of Scotland was the same as that which was afterwards so successfully executed by Bruce. It was to avoid a general battle, which, with an army far inferior to the English, must have been fought at a disadvantage; to fall back slowly before the enemy, leaving some garrisons in the most important castles, driving off all supplies, wasting the country through which the English were to march, and waiting till the scarcity of provisions compelled them to retreat, and give him a favourable opportunity of breaking down upon them with full effect. Edward had determined to penetrate into the west of Scotland, and there he purposed to conclude the war. He directed a fleet, with supplies for his army, to sail round from Berwick to the Firth of Forth; and having left Roxburgh, he proceeded by moderate marches into Scotland, laying waste the country, and anxious for a sight of his enemies. No one, however, was to be found who could give him information regarding the Scottish army; and he proceeded through Berwickshire to Lauder, and without a check to Templeliston, now Kirkliston, a small town between Edinburgh and Linlithgow. Here, as provisions began already to be scarce, he determined to remain, in order to receive the earliest intelligence of his fleet; and, in case of

Digitized by Google

accidents, to secure his retreat. At this time he learnt that frequent attacks were made against the foraging parties of his rear division, by the Scottish garrison in the strong castle of Dirleton: and that two other fortalices, which he had passed on his march, were likely to give him annoyance. Upon this he despatched his favourite marshal bishop, Anthony Beck, who sat down before the castle; but, on account of the want of proper battering machines, found it too strong for him. He then attempted to carry it by assault, but was driven back with loss; and as his division began to be in extreme want, the bishop sent Sir John Marmaduke to require the king's pleasure.

"Go back," said Edward, "and tell Anthony that he is right to be pacific when he is acting the bishop, but that in his present business he must forget his calling. As for you," continued the king, addressing Marmaduke, "you are a relentless soldier, and I have often had to reprove you for too cruel an exultation over the death of your enemies; but return now whence you came, and be as relentless as you choose. You will have my thanks, not my censure; and look you, do not see my face again, till these three castles are razed to the ground."

In the meantime, the besiegers were relieved from the extremities of want, by the arrival of three ships with provisions; and the bishop, on receiving the

Digitized by Google

king's message, took advantage of the renewed strength and spirit of his soldiers to order an assault, which was successful; the garrison having stipulated, before surrender, that their lives should be spared. Edward, when at Kirkliston, had raised some of the young squires in his army to the rank of knighthood; and these new knights were sent to gain their spurs, by taking the other two fortalices. On coming before them, however, they found that the Scots had abandoned them to the enemy; and having destroyed them, they rejoined the main army.

These transactions occupied a month, and the army began again to suffer severely from the scarcity of provisions. The fleet from Berwick was anxiously looked for, and Edward foresaw that in the event of its arrival being protracted a few days longer, he should be compelled to retreat. At last a few ships were seen off the coast, which brought a small supply; but the great body of the fleet was still detained by contrary winds, and a dangerous mutiny broke out in the camp. The Welsh troops had suffered much from famine; and a present of wine having been sent to them by the king, their soldiers, in a paroxysm of intoxication and national antipathy, attacked the English quarters in the night, and inhumanly murdered eighteen priests. Upon this the English cavalry hastily ran to their weapons, and breaking in upon the Welsh, slew eighty men. In the morning the

Digitized by Google

Welsh, of whom there were forty thousand in the army, exasperated at the death of their companions, threatened to join the Scots.

"Let them do so," said Edward, with his usual cool courage; "let them go over to my enemies: I hope soon to see the day when I shall chastise them both."

This day, however, was, to all appearance, distant. The distress for provisions now amounted to an absolute famine. No intelligence had been received of the Scottish army. As the English advanced, the country had been wasted by an invisible foe; and Edward, wearied out, was at length compelled to issue orders for a retreat to Edinburgh, hoping to meet with his fleet at Leith, and thereafter to re-commence operations against the enemy.

At this critical juncture, when the military skill and wisdom of the dispositions made by Wallace became apparent, and when the moment to harass and destroy the invading army in its retreat had arrived, the treachery of her nobles again betrayed Scotland. Two Scottish lords, Patrick, earl of Dunbar, and the Earl of Angus, privately, at daybreak, sought the quarters of the Bishop of Durham, and informed him that the Scots were encamped not far off in the forest of Falkirk. The Scottish earls, who dreaded the resentment of Edward, on account of their late renunciation of allegiance, did not venture to seek the king in person. They sent their intelligence by a page,

Digitized by Google

and added, that having heard of his projected retreat, it was the intention of Wallace to surprise him by a night attack, and to hang upon and harass his rear. Edward, on hearing this welcome news, could not conceal his joy.

"Thanks be to God," he exclaimed, "who hitherto hath extricated me from every danger! They shall not need to follow me, since I shall forthwith go and meet them."

Without a moment's delay, orders were issued for the soldiers to arm, and hold themselves ready to march. The king was the first to put on his armour, and, mounting his horse, rode through the camp, hastening the preparations, and giving orders in person to the merchants and sutlers who attended the army to pack up their wares, and be ready to follow him. At length all was prepared, and at three o'clock the whole army was on its advance from Kirkliston to Falkirk, astonished at the sudden change in the plan of operations, and at the slow and deliberate pace with which they were led on. It was late before they reached a heath near Linlithgow, on which they encamped for the night. They were not allowed the refreshment of disarming themselves; but, to use the striking words of Hemingford, "each soldier slept on the ground, using his shield for his pillow; each horseman had his horse beside him, and the horses themselves tasted nothing but cold iron,

Digitized by Google

champing their bridles." In the middle of the night a cry was heard. King Edward, who slept on the heath, whilst a page held his horse, was awakened by a sudden stroke on his side. The boy had been careless, and the horse, in changing his position, had put his foot on the king as he slept. Those around him cried out that their prince was wounded; and this, in the confusion of the night, was soon raised into a shout that the enemy were upon them, so that they hastily armed themselves, and prepared for their defence. But the mistake was soon explained. Edward had been only slightly hurt; and as the morning was near, he mounted his horse, and gave orders to march. They passed through Linlithgow a little before sunrise; and on looking up to a rising ground, at some distance in their front, observed the ridge of the hill lined with lances. Not a moment was lost. Their columns marched up the hill, but on reaching it, the enemy had disappeared; and as it was the feast of St Mary Magdalene, the king ordered a tent to be raised, where he and the Bishop of Durham heard mass. These lances had been the advance guard of the enemy; for while mass was saying, and the day became brighter, the English soldiers could distinctly see the Scots in the distance arranging their lines, and preparing for battle.

The Scottish army did not amount to the third part of the force of the English; and Wallace, who dreaded

Digitized by Google

this great disparity, and knew how much Edward was likely to suffer by the protraction of the war and the want of provisions, at first thought of a retreat, and hastened to lead off his soldiers; but he soon found that the English were too near to admit of this being accomplished without certain destruction; and he therefore proceeded to draw up his army, so as best to avail himself of the nature of the ground, and to sustain the attack of the English. He divided his infantry into four compact divisions, called *Schiltrons*,* composed of his lancers. In the first line the men knelt, with their lances turned obliquely outwards, so as to present a serried front to the enemy on every side. In this infantry consisted the chief strength of the Scottish army, for the soldiers stood so close, and were so linked or chained together, that to break the line was extremely difficult. In the spaces between these divisions were placed the archers, and in the rear was drawn up the Scottish cavalry, consisting of about a thousand heavy-armed horse.

After hearing mass, the King of England, being informed of the Scottish disposition of battle, hesitated to lead his army forward to the attack, and proposed that they should pitch their tents, and allow the soldiers and the horses time for rest and refreshment. This was opposed by his officers as unsafe,

* Compact bodies of men, of a circular form.

Digitized by Google

on account of there being nothing but a small rivulet between the two armies.

"What then would you advise?" asked Edward.

"An immediate advance," said they; "the field and the victory will be ours."

"In God's name, then, let it be so," replied the king; and without delay, the barons who commanded the first division, the Marshal of England, and the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln, led their soldiers in a direct line against the enemy. They were not aware, however, of an extensive moss which stretched along the front of the Scottish position, and on reaching it, were obliged to make a circuit to the west to get rid of the obstacle. This retarded their attack; meanwhile the second line, under the command of the Bishop of Durham, being better informed of the nature of the ground, in advancing inclined to the east with the same object. The bishop's cavalry were fiery and impetuous. Thirty-six banners floated above the mass of spears, and showed how many leaders of distinction were in the field; but Anthony Beck, who had seen enough of war to know the danger of too precipitate an attack, commanded them to hold back, till the third line, under the king, came up to support them. "Stick to thy mass, bishop," cried Ralph Basset of Drayton, "and teach not us what we ought to do in the face of an enemy." "On then," replied the bishop; "set on in your own

Digitized by Google

way. We are all soldiers to-day, and bound to do our duty." So saying, they hastened forward, and in a few minutes engaged with the first column of the Scots; whilst the first line, which had extricated itself from the morass, commenced its attack upon the other flank. Wallace's anxiety to avoid a battle had in all probability arisen from his having little dependence on the fidelity of the heavy-armed cavalry, commanded by those nobles who hated and feared him; and the events showed how just were his suspicions: for the moment the lines met, the whole body of the Scottish horse shamelessly retired without striking a blow.

The columns of infantry, however, with the intermediate companies of archers, kept their ground, and a few of the armed knights remained beside them. Amongst these, Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, in marshalling the ranks of the archers from the forest of Selkirk, was thrown from his horse. The faithful bowmen tried to rescue him, but in vain. He was slain, and the tall and athletic figures of those who fell round him drew forth the praise of the enemy. On the death of this leader, the archers gave way; but the columns of the Scottish infantry stood firm, and their oblique lances, pointing every way, presented a thick wood, through which no attacks of the cavalry could penetrate. Edward now brought up his reserve of archers and slingers, who showered their

Digitized by Google

Wars of Scotland—*Page* 52.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

arrows upon them, with volleys of large round stones, which covered the ground where they stood. This continued and galling attack, along with the reiterated charges of the cavalry, at last broke the first line, and the heavy-armed horse, pouring in at the gap which was thus made, threw all into confusion, and carried indiscriminate slaughter through their ranks. Macduff, along with his vassals from Fife, was slain; and Wallace, with the remains of his army, having gained the neighbouring wood, made good his retreat, leaving nearly fifteen thousand men dead upon the field. On the English side, only two men of note fell; one of them was Sir Bryan de Jaye, Master of the Scottish Templars, who, when pressing before his men in the ardour of the pursuit, was entangled in a moss in Callander wood, and slain by some of the Scottish fugitives. The other was a companion of the same order, and of high rank.

The remains of the Scottish army immediately retreated from Falkirk to Stirling. Unable to maintain the town against the English army, they set it on fire; and Edward, on entering it on the fourth day after the battle, found it reduced to ashes. The convent of the Dominicans, however, escaped the flames; and here the king, who still suffered from the wound given him by his horse, remained for fifteen days to recover his health. Meantime he sent a division of his army across the Forth into Clackmannanshire

Digitized by Google

and Menteith, which, after ravaging the country and plundering the villages, advanced in its destructive march through Fife. The whole of this rich and populous district was now regarded with great severity, on account of the resistance made by Macduff and the men of Fife at Falkirk. It was accordingly delivered up to complete military execution; and, to use the words of an ancient chronicle, "clene brent." The city of St Andrews was found deserted by its inhabitants, and delivered to the flames. Beginning to be in distress for provisions, the English pushed on to Perth, which they found already burnt by the Scots themselves; so that, defeated in the hope of procuring supplies, and unable longer to support themselves in a country so utterly laid waste, they returned to Stirling, the castle of which Edward had commanded to be repaired. Having left a garrison there, he proceeded to Abercorn, near Queensferry, where he had hopes to find his long-expected fleet, with supplies from Berwick; but his ships were still detained. He then marched to Glasgow, and through the district of Clydesdale, by Bothwell, to Lanark, from which he proceeded towards the strong castle of Ayr, then in the hands of the younger Bruce, earl of Carrick. Bruce fled at the approach of the king, after having set fire to the castle; and Edward marched into Galloway with the intention of punishing this refractory baron, by

Digitized by Google

laying waste his country. The army, however, began again to be grievously in want of provisions; and the king, after having for fifteen days struggled against famine, was constrained to return through the middle of Annandale, and to be contented with the capture of Bruce's castle of Lochmaben, from which he proceeded to Carlisle. Thus were the fruits of the bloody and decisive battle of Falkirk plucked from the hands of Edward, by famine and distress, at the moment he expected to secure them; and after leading against Scotland the most numerous and best appointed army which had perhaps ever invaded it, and defeating his enemies with great slaughter, he was compelled to retreat while still nearly the whole of the country beyond the Forth was unsubdued, and even when that part which he had wasted and overrun was only waiting for his absence to rise into a new revolt against him. At Carlisle the Earls of Norfolk and Hereford left the army to return home, under the pretence that their men and horses were worn out with the expedition, but in reality because they were incensed at the king for a breach of faith. Edward, when at Lochmaben, had, without consulting them or their brother nobles, disposed of the island of Arran to Thomas Bisset, a Scottish adventurer, who, having invaded and seized it about the time of the battle of Falkirk, pretended that he had undertaken the enterprise for the King of

Digitized by Google

England. This was done in violation of a solemn promise, that, without advice of his council, he would adopt no new measures; and to atone for so irregular a proceeding, a parliament was held at Carlisle, in which the king, who as yet was master of but a very small part of Scotland, assigned to his earls and barons the estates of the Scottish nobles. These, however, as an old historian remarks, were grants given in hope, not in possession; and even the frail tenure of hope by which they were held was soon threatened: for on reaching Durham messengers arrived with the intelligence that the Scots were again in arms, and the king hastily returned to Tynemouth, and from thence to Coldingham, near Beverley. His army was now much reduced by the desertion of Norfolk and Hereford; and the soldiers who remained were weakened with famine and the fatigues of war. To commence another campaign at this late season was impossible; but he instantly issued his writs for the assembling of a new army, to chastise, as he said, the obstinate and reiterated rebellions of the Scots; and he appointed his barons to meet him at Carlisle on the eve of the day of Pentecost. He also commanded the speedy collection of the money granted by the clergy of the province of York to assist him in his war with Scotland; and despatched letters to the nobles of England, ordering their attendance in the army destined against Scotland.

Digitized by Google

Patrick, earl of Dunbar and March, and his son, Gilbert de Umfraville, earl of Angus, Alexander de Baliol, and Simon Fraser, all of them Scottish barons, were at this time friends to Edward, and resident at his court, and to them were the same commands directed.

Wallace, soon after the defeat of Falkirk, voluntarily resigned the office of Governor of Scotland. The Comyns had threatened to impeach him of treason for his conduct during the war; and the Bruces, next in power to the Comyns, appear to have forgot their personal animosity, and united with their rivals to put him down. To these accusations the disaster at Falkirk gave some colour, and he chose rather to return to the station of a private knight, than to retain an elevation which, owing to the jealousy of the nobility, brought ruin and distress upon the people. One ancient manuscript of Fordun asserts that he passed over into France, where he was honourably welcomed and entertained by Philip, and increased his high character for personal prowess, by his successes against the pirates who then infested the seas; so that his exploits were celebrated in the French songs and ballads of the day. An examination of the valuable historical materials which exist in the public libraries of France might perhaps throw some light on this dark portion of his story. It is certain that his great name does not again recur in any

Digitized by Google

authentic record, as bearing even a secondary command in the wars against Edward; nor indeed do we meet with him in any public transaction, until eight years after this, when he fell a victim to the unrelenting vengeance of that prince.

Digitized by Google

THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN.

AFTER the death of Wallace, in 1304, Scotland found a second champion and deliverer in Robert Bruce, who, deeply resenting the humiliation of his country, once more set up the standard of war, and gave defiance to the English monarch. Under this intrepid leader the spirit of the nation was effectually roused. The English were attacked in every quarter, and once more entirely driven out of the country. Bruce was crowned King of Scotland at Scone, 1306. King Edward I. of England, in advancing upon Scotland with an immense army, died at Burgh-on-the-Sands, near Carlisle, on July 7, 1307, in his sixty-ninth year. He enjoined his son with his last breath to prosecute the war against the Scots to the entire reduction of the country. Circumstances prevented him doing so for seven years; but at length, in obedience to his father's dying wish, Edward II. prepared to carry out the invasion which his father had planned. He summoned the whole military force of

Digitized by Google

his kingdoms to meet him at Berwick on the 11th of June 1314. To this general muster ninety-three barons, comprehending the whole body of the great vassals of the crown, were commanded to repair with horse and arms, and their entire feudal service; whilst the different counties in England and Wales were ordered to raise a body of twenty-seven thousand foot soldiers; and although Hume, the historian, mistaking the evidence of the original record, has imagined that the numbers of this army have been exaggerated by Barbour, it is certain that the accumulated strength which the king commanded exceeded a hundred thousand men, including a body of forty thousand cavalry, of which three thousand were, both horse and man, in complete armour, and a force of fifty thousand archers. He now appointed the Earl of Pembroke, a nobleman experienced, under his father, in the wars of Scotland, to be governor of that country, and despatched him thither to make preparations for his own arrival. He ordered a fleet of twenty-three vessels to be assembled for the invasion of Scotland; in addition to these, he directed letters to the mayor and authorities of the various seaport towns, enjoining them to fit out an additional fleet of thirty ships; and of this united armament he appointed John Sturmy and Peter Bard to have the command. He directed letters to O'Connor, prince of Connaught, and twenty-five other Irish native chiefs, requiring

Digitized by Google

them to place themselves, with all the military force which they could collect, under the orders of Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, and to join the army at the muster; he made the same demand upon the English barons who possessed estates in Ireland. He requested the Bishop of Constance to send him a body of sixty mounted cross-bowmen. He took care that store of provisions for the troops, and forage for the cavalry, should be collected from all quarters; he placed his victualling department under strict organisation; he appointed John of Argyle, who, probably, had no inconsiderable fleet of his own, to co-operate with the English armament, with the title of High Admiral of the western fleet of England; and he took care that the army should be provided with all kinds of useful artisans—smiths, carpenters, masons, armourers—and supplied with waggons and cars for the transport of the tents, pavilions, and baggage, which so large a military array necessarily included. The various writs, and multifarious orders, connected with the summoning and organisation of the army of England, which fought at Bannockburn, are still preserved, and may be seen in their minutest details; and they prove that it far exceeded, not only in numbers but in equipment, any army which was ever led by any former monarch against Scotland.

With this great force, Edward prepared to take the field, and having first made a pilgrimage with his

Digitized by Google

queen and the Prince of Wales to St Albans, and with the accustomed offerings requested the prayers of the Church, he held his way through Lincolnshire to York and Newcastle, and met his army at Berwick. He here found that the Earls of Warrene, Lancaster, Arundel, and Warwick refused to attend him in person, alleging that he had broken his word given to the lord ordinars; but they sent their feudal services, and the rest of the nobility mustered, without any absentees, and with great splendour; so that the monarch having reviewed his troops, began his march for Scotland in high spirits, and with confident anticipations of victory.

Meanwhile, Bruce, aware of the mighty force which was advancing against him, had not been idle. He appointed a general muster of his whole army in the Torwood, near Stirling, and here he found that the greatest force which could be collected did not amount to forty thousand fighting men; and that the small body of cavalry which he had could not be expected to compete for a moment, either in the temper of their arms, or the strength of their horses, with the heavy cavalry of the English. He at once, therefore, resolved to fight on foot, and to draw up his army in ground where cavalry could not act with effect, and where the English, from their immense numbers, would be cramped and confined in their movements. For this purpose he chose a field not far from Stirling,

Digitized by Google

which was then called the New Park. It was studded and encumbered with trees, and the approach to it was protected by a morass, the passage of which would be dangerous to an enemy. Bruce, having carefully examined the ground, determined that his right wing should rest on the rivulet called Bannockburn, whose broken and wooded banks afforded him an excellent security against being outflanked. His front extended to a village called St Ninians; and his left wing, which was unprotected by the nature of the ground, was exposed to the garrison of Stirling in the rear—a dangerous position, had not the terms of a previous treaty with the governor precluded attack from that quarter. But Bruce did not leave the defence of his left to this negative security; for in a field hard by, so firm and level that it afforded favourable ground for cavalry, he caused many rows of parallel pits to be dug, a foot in breadth, and about three feet deep. In these pits he placed pointed stakes, with a number of sharp iron weapons, called in Scotland *calthrops*, and covered them carefully with sod, so that the ground, apparently level, was rendered impassable to horse. It does not appear, however, that the English cavalry attempted to charge over this ground, although, in the subsequent dispersion of the army, many lost their lives in the pits and ditches.

Having thus judiciously availed himself of every circumstance, the king reviewed his troops, welcomed

Digitized by Google

all courteously, and declared himself well satisfied with their appearance and equipment. The principal leaders of the Scottish army were Sir Edward Bruce, the king's brother, Sir James Douglas, Randolph, earl of Moray, and Walter, the High Steward of Scotland. These, with the exception of the last, who was still a youth, were experienced and veteran leaders, who had been long trained up in war, and upon whom their master could place entire reliance; and having fully explained to them his intended order of battle, the king waited in great tranquillity for the approach of the enemy.

Soon after word was brought that the English army had lain all night at Edinburgh. This was on Saturday evening, the 22d of June, and early in the morning of Sunday the soldiers heard mass. It was stated by the contemporary historians that they confessed themselves with the solemnity of men who were resolved to die in that field, or to free their country; and as it was the vigil of St John, they took no dinner, but kept their fast on bread and water. Meanwhile the king, on Sunday, after hearing mass, rode out to examine the pits which had been made, and to see that his orders had been duly executed. Having satisfied himself, he returned, and commanded his soldiers to arm. This order was promptly obeyed; and all cheerfully arrayed themselves under their different banners. Bruce then caused proclama-

Digitized by Google

tion to be made that all who did not feel fully resolved to win the field or to die with honour had at that moment free liberty to leave the army; but the soldiers raised a great shout, and answered with one accord that they were determined to abide the enemy.

The baggage of the army was placed in a valley at some distance in the rear, and the sutlers and camp-followers, who amounted nearly to twenty thousand, were stationed beside it, and commanded to await the result of the battle. They were separated from the army by a small hill, which is yet called the Gilles, or Gillies' Hill.

The king now arranged his army in a line consisting of three square columns, or battles, of which he intrusted the command of the vaward, or centre, to the Earl of Moray. His brother Edward led the right, and the left was given to Sir James Douglas, and Walter, the Steward of Scotland. He himself took the command of the reserve, which formed a fourth battle, drawn up immediately behind the centre, and composed of the men of Argyle, Carrick, Cantire, and the Isles. Along with him was Angus of Islay, with the men of Bute; and he had also under his command a body of five hundred cavalry, fully armed, and mounted on light and active horses.

Having thus disposed his order of battle, the king despatched Sir James Douglas and Sir Robert Keith

Digitized by Google

to reconnoitre, who soon after returned with the news that they descried the English host advancing in great strength, and making a very martial appearance. For this intelligence Bruce was well prepared; yet, dreading its effect upon his soldiers, he directed them to give out to the army that the enemy, though numerous, were advancing in confused and ill-arranged order.

Although this was not exactly the case, the rash character of Edward led him to commit some errors in the disposal of his troops, which led to fatal consequences. He had hurried on to Scotland with such rapidity that the horses were worn out with travel and want of food, and the men were not allowed the regular periods for halt and refreshment, so that his soldiers went into action under great disadvantage. Upon advancing from Falkirk early in the morning, and when the English host was only two miles distant from the Scottish army, Edward despatched an advanced party of eight hundred cavalry, led by Sir Robert Clifford, with orders to outflank the enemy and throw themselves into Stirling Castle. Bruce had looked for this movement, and had commanded Randolph, his nephew, to be vigilant in repelling any such attempt. Clifford, however, unobserved by Randolph, made a circuit by the low grounds to the east and north of the church of St Ninian's, and having thus avoided the front of the Scottish line, he

Digitized by Google

was proceeding towards the castle when he was detected by the piercing eye of Bruce, who rode hastily up to Randolph, and reproached him for his carelessness in having suffered the enemy to pass.

"Oh, Randolph!" cried his master, "lightly have you thought of the charge committed to you; a rose has fallen from your chaplet."

Stung by such words, the Earl of Moray, leaving the centre, at the head of a select body of infantry, hastened at all hazards to repair his error. As he advanced, Clifford's squadron wheeled round, and putting their spears in rest, charged him at full speed, but Randolph had formed his infantry in a square presenting a front on all sides, with the spears fixed before them; and although he had only five hundred men, he awaited the shock of Clifford with such firmness that many of the English were unhorsed, and Sir William Daynecourt, an officer of note, who had been more forward in his attack than his companions, was slain. Unable to make any impression upon Randolph's square by this first attack, the English proceeded more leisurely to surround him on all sides, and by a second furious and simultaneous charge on each front, endeavoured to break the line; but the light armour, the long spears, and the short knives and battle-axes of the Scottish foot proved a match for the heavy-armed English cavalry, and a desperate conflict ensued, in which Randolph's little square,

Digitized by Google

although it stood firm, seemed likely to be crushed to pieces by the heavy metal which was brought against it. All this passed in the sight of Bruce, who was surrounded by his officers. At length Sir James Douglas earnestly requested to be allowed to go with a reinforcement to his relief.

"You shall not stir a foot from your ground," said the king, "and let Randolph extricate himself as best he can; I will not alter my order of battle, and lose my advantage, whatever may befall him."

"My liege," answered Douglas, "I cannot stand by and see Randolph perish when I may bring him help; so by your leave I must away to his succour."

Bruce unwillingly consented, and Douglas immediately held his way towards Randolph.

By this time the King of England had brought up his main army, and ordered a halt for the purpose of consulting with his leaders whether it were expedient to join battle that same day, or take a night to refresh his troops. By some mistake, however, the centre of the English continued its march, not aware of this order, and on their approach to the New Park Bruce rode forward alone to make some new arrangements, which were called for by the absence of Randolph, and to take a final view of the disposition of his army. He was at this time in front of his own line, meanly mounted on a hackney, but clad in full armour, with his battle-axe in his hand, and distinguished from his

Digitized by Google

nobles by a small crown of gold surmounting his steel helmet. On the approach of the English vaward, led by the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, Sir Henry de Boune, an English knight, who rode about a bow-shot in advance of his companions, recognised the king, and galloped forward to attack him. Boune was armed at all points, and excellently mounted on a heavy war-horse, so that the contest was most unequal, and Bruce might have retired; but for a moment he forgot his duties as a general in his feelings as a knight, and, to the surprise of his soldiers, spurred his little hackney forward to his assailant. There was an interval of breathless suspense, but it lasted only a moment; for as the English knight came on in full career, the king parried the spear, and raising himself in his stirrups as he passed, with one blow of his battle-axe laid him dead at his feet, by almost cleaving his head in two. Upon this his soldiers raised a great shout, and advanced hardily upon the English centre, which retreated in confusion to the main army; and Bruce, afraid of disorder getting into his line of battle, called back his men from the pursuit, after they had slain a few of the English soldiers. When they had time to recollect themselves, the Scottish leaders earnestly remonstrated with the king for the rash manner in which he exposed himself; and Bruce, somewhat ashamed of the adventure, changed the subject, and looking at

Digitized by Google

the broken shaft which he held in his hand, with a smile replied, "He was sorry for the loss of his good battle-axe."

All this passed so quickly, that the contest between Randolph and Clifford was still undecided; but Douglas, as he drew near to his friend's rescue, perceived that the English had by this time begun to waver, and that disorder was rapidly getting into their ranks. Commanding his men, therefore, to halt—

"Let us not," cried he, "diminish the glory of so redoubtable an encounter, by coming in at the end to share it. The brave men that fight yonder without our help will soon discomfit the enemy."

The result was as Douglas had foreseen, for Randolph, who quickly perceived the same indications, began to press the English cavalry with repeated charges and increasing fury, so that they at length entirely broke, and fled in great disorder. The attempt to throw succours into the castle was thus completely defeated; and Clifford, after losing many of his men, who were slain in the pursuit, rejoined the main body of the army with the scattered and dispirited remains of his squadron. So steadily had the Scots kept their ranks, that Randolph had sustained a very inconsiderable loss.

From the result of these two attacks, and especially from the defeat of Clifford, Bruce drew a good augury, and cheerfully congratulated his soldiers on so fair a

Digitized by Google

beginning. He observed to them, that they had defeated the flower of the English cavalry, and had driven back the centre division of their great army; and remarked, that the same circumstances which gave spirit and animation to their hopes must communicate depression to the enemy. As the day was far spent, he held a military council of his leaders, and requested their advice, whether, having now seen the numbers and strength of their opponents, it was expedient to hazard a battle, declaring himself ready to submit his individual opinion to the judgment of the majority. But the minds of the Scottish commanders were not in a retreating mood; and although aware of the great disparity of force, the English army being more than triple that of Bruce, they declared their unanimous desire to keep their position, and to fight on the morrow. The king then told them that such was his own wish, and commanded them to have the whole army arrayed next morning by daybreak, in the order and upon the ground already agreed on. He earnestly exhorted them to preserve the firmest order, each man under his own banner, and to receive the charge of the enemy with levelled spears, so that even the hindmost ranks of the English would feel the shock. He pointed out to them that everything in the approaching battle, which was to determine whether Scotland was to be free or enslaved, depended on their own

Digitized by Google

steady discipline and deliberate valour. He conjured them not to allow a single soldier to quit his banner or break the array; and, if they should be successful, by no means to begin to plunder or to make prisoners, as long as a single enemy remained on the field. He promised that the heirs of all who fell should receive their lands free, and without the accustomed feudal fine; and he assured them, with a determined and cheerful countenance, that if the orders he had now given were obeyed they might confidently look forward to victory.

Having thus spoken to his leaders, the army were dismissed to their quarters. In the evening they made the necessary arrangements for the battle, and passed the night in arms upon the field. Meanwhile the English king and his leaders had resolved, on account of the fatigue undergone by the troops, and symptoms of dissatisfaction which appeared amongst them, to delay the attack, and drew off to the low grounds to the right and rear of their original position, where they passed the night in riot and disorder. At this time, it is said, a Scotsman, who served in the English army, deserted to Bruce, and informed him he could lead him to the attack so as to secure an easy victory. The king, however, was not thus to be drawn from his position, and determined to await the enemy on the ground already chosen.

On Monday, the 24th of June, at the first break of

Digitized by Google

day, the Scottish king confessed, and along with his army heard mass. This solemn service was performed by Maurice, the Abbot of Inchaffray, upon an eminence in front of their line, and after its conclusion the soldiers took breakfast, and arranged themselves under their different banners. They wore light armour, but of excellent temper. Their weapons were, a battle-axe slung at their side, and long spears, besides knives or daggers, which the former affair of Randolph had proved to be highly effective in close combat. When the whole army was in array, they proceeded, with displayed banners, to make knights, as was the custom before a battle. Bruce conferred that honour upon Walter, the young Steward of Scotland, Sir James Douglas, and many other brave men, in due order, and according to their rank.

By this time the van of the English army, composed of archers and lances, and led by the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, approached within bow-shot; and at a little distance behind the remaining nine divisions, which, confined by the narrowness of the ground, were compressed into a close column of great and unwieldy dimensions. This vast body was conducted by the King of England in person, who had along with him a body-guard of five hundred chosen horse. He was attended by the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Ingelram Umfraville, and Sir Giles de Argentine, a knight of Rhodes, of great reputation.

Digitized by Google

When Edward approached near enough, and observed the Scottish army drawn up on foot, and their firm array and determined countenance, he expressed much surprise, and turning to Umfraville, asked him, "If he thought these Scots would fight?" Umfraville replied that they assuredly would; and he then advised Edward, instead of an open attack, to pretend to retreat behind his encampment, upon which he was confident, from his old experience in the Scottish wars, that the enemy would break their array, and rush on without order or discipline, so that the English army might easily attack and overwhelm them. Umfraville, an Anglicised Scottish baron, who had seen much service against Edward's father, and had only sworn fealty in 1305, spoke this from an intimate knowledge of his countrymen; but Edward fortunately disdained his counsel.

At this moment the Abbot of Inchaffray, barefooted, and holding a crucifix aloft in his hand, walked slowly along the Scottish line; and as he passed, the whole army knelt down, and prayed for a moment with the solemnity of men who felt it might be their last act of devotion.

"See," cried Edward, "they are kneeling—they ask mercy!"

"They do, my liege," replied Umfraville, "but it is from God, not from us. Trust me, yon men will win the day, or die upon the field."

Digitized by Google

"Be it so then," said Edward, and immediately commanded the charge to be sounded.

The English van, led by Gloucester and Hereford, now spurred forward their horses, and at full gallop charged the right wing of the Scots, commanded by Edward Bruce; but a dispute between the two English barons as to precedency caused the charge, though rapid, to be broken and irregular. Gloucester, who had been irritated the day before by some galling remarks of the king, insisted on leading the van, a post which of right belonged to Hereford, as Constable of England. To this Hereford would not agree; and Gloucester, as they disputed, seeing the Scottish right advancing, sprung forward at the head of his own division, and, without being supported by the rest of the van, attacked the enemy, who received them with a shock which caused the noise of the meeting of their spears to be heard a great way off, and threw many knights from their saddles, whose horses were stabbed and rendered furious by their wounds. While the right wing was thus engaged, Randolph, who commanded the centre division, advanced at a steady pace to meet the main body of the English, whom he confronted and attacked with great intrepidity, although the enemy outnumbered him by ten to one. His square was soon surrounded and lost amidst the English, as if it had plunged into the sea; upon which Sir James Douglas

Digitized by Google

and Walter the Steward brought up the left wing; so that the whole line, composed of the three battles, was now engaged, and the battle raged with great fury. The English cavalry attempting, by repeated charges, to break the line of the Scottish spearmen, and they standing firm in their array, and presenting on every side a serried front of steel, caused a shock and *melée* which is not easily described; and the slaughter was increased by the remembrance of many years of grievous injury and oppression, producing, on the part of the Scots, an exasperation of feeling and an eager desire of revenge. At every successive charge the English cavalry lost more men, and fell into greater confusion than before; and this confusion was infinitely increased by the confined nature of the ground and the immense mass of their army. The Scottish squares, on the other hand, were light and compact, though firm; they moved easily, altered their front at pleasure, and suited themselves to every emergency of the battle. They were, however, dreadfully galled by the English bowmen; and Bruce, dreading the effect of the constant and deadly showers of arrows, which fell like hail upon them, directed Sir Robert Keith, the marshal, to make a circuit, with the five hundred horse which were in the reserve, round the morass called Miltown Bog, and to charge the archers in flank.

This movement was executed with great decisior

Digitized by Google

and rapidity; and such was its effect that the whole body of the archers, who had neither spears nor other weapons to defend themselves against cavalry, were in a short time overthrown and dispersed, without any prolonged attempt at resistance. Part of them fled to the main army, and the rest did not again attempt to rally or make head during the continuance of the battle. Although such was the success of this judicious attack, the English still kept fighting with great determination; but they had already lost some of their bravest commanders, and Bruce could discern symptoms of exhaustion and impatience. He saw, too, that his own infantry were still fresh and well-breathed; and he assured his leaders that the attack, continued but for a short time, and pushed with vigour, must make the day their own. It was at this moment that he brought up his whole reserve, and the four battles of the Scots were now completely engaged in one line. The Scottish archers, unlike the English, carried short battle-axes; and with these, after they had exhausted their arrows, they rushed upon the enemy, and made great havoc. The Scottish commanders, too, the king, Edward Bruce, Douglas, Randolph, and the Steward, were fighting in the near presence of each other, and animated with a generous rivalry. At this time Barbour, whose account of the battle is evidently taken from eye-witnesses, describes the field as exhibiting a terrific spectacle.

Digitized by Google

"It was awful," he writes, "to hear the noise of these four battles fighting in a line,—the clang of arms, the shouts of the knights as they raised their war-cry; to see the flight of the arrows, which maddened the horses; the alternate sinking and rising of the banners, and the ground slippery with gore, and covered with shreds of armour, broken spears, pennons, and rich scarfs, torn and soiled with blood and clay; and to listen to the groans of the wounded and the dying."

The wavering of the English lines was now discernible by the Scottish soldiers themselves, who shouted when they saw it, and calling out, "On them, on them—they fail!" pressed forward with renewed vigour, gaining ground upon their enemy.

At this critical moment there appeared over the little hill, which lay between the field and the baggage of the Scottish army, a large body of troops marching apparently in firm array towards the field. This spectacle, which was instantly believed to be a reinforcement proceeding to join the Scots, although it was nothing more than the sutlers and camp-boys hastening to see the battle, spread dismay amidst the ranks of the English; and King Robert, whose eye was everywhere, to perceive and take advantage of the slightest movement in his favour, put himself at the head of his reserve, and raising his *ensenye*, or war-cry, furiously pressed on the enemy. It was this

Digitized by Google

last charge, which was followed up by the advance of the whole line, that decided the day; the English, who hitherto, although wavering, had preserved their array, now broke into disjointed squadrons; part began to quit the field, and no efforts of their leaders could restore order. The Earl of Gloucester, who was mounted on a spirited war-horse, which had lately been presented to him by the king, in one of his attempts to rally his men, rode desperately upon the division of Edward Bruce; he was instantly unhorsed, and fell pierced by numerous wounds of the Scottish lances. The flight now became general, and the slaughter great. The banners of twenty-seven barons were laid in the dust, and their masters slain. Amongst these were Sir Robert Clifford, a veteran and experienced commander, and Sir Edmund Mauley, the Seneschal of England. On seeing the entire rout of his army, Edward reluctantly allowed the Earl of Pembroke to seize his bridle, and force him off the field, guarded by five hundred heavy-armed horse. Sir Giles de Argentine accompanied him a short way, till he saw the king in safety. He then reined up, and bade him farewell.

"It has never been my custom," said he, "to fly; and here I must take my fortune."

Saying this, he put spurs to his horse, and crying out "An Argentine!" charged the squadron of Edward Bruce, and, like Gloucester, was soon borne

Digitized by Google

down by the force of the Scottish spears, and cut to pieces. Multitudes of the English were drowned when attempting to cross the river Forth. Many in their flight got entangled in the pits, which they seem to have avoided in their first attack, and were there suffocated or slain; others, who vainly endeavoured to pass the rugged banks of the Bannockburn, were slain in that quarter; so completely was this little river heaped up with the dead bodies of men and horses, that the pursuers passed dry over the mass as if it were a bridge. Thirty thousand of the English were left dead upon the field, and amongst these two hundred knights and seven hundred esquires. A large body of Welsh fled, under the command of Sir Maurice Berklay, but the greater part of them were slain, or taken prisoners, before they reached England.

Such also might have been the fate of the King of England himself, had Bruce been able to spare a sufficient body of cavalry to follow up the chase. But when Edward left the field, with his five hundred horse, many straggling parties of the enemy still lingered about the low grounds, and numbers had taken refuge under the walls, and in the hollow recesses of the rock on which Stirling castle is built. These, had they rallied, might have still created much annoyance, a part of the Scottish army being occupied in plundering the camp; and it thus became absolutely

Digitized by Google

necessary for Bruce to keep the more efficient part of his troops together. When Douglas, therefore, proposed to pursue the king, he could obtain no more than sixty horsemen. In passing the Torwood, he was met by Sir Laurence Abernethy, hastening with a small body of cavalry to join the English. This knight immediately deserted a falling cause, and assisted in the chase. They made up to the fugitive monarch at Linlithgow, but Douglas deemed it imprudent to hazard an attack with so inferior a force. He pressed so hard upon him, however, as not to suffer the English to have a moment's rest; and it is a strong proof of the panic which had seized them that a body of five hundred heavy horse, armed to the teeth, fled before eighty Scottish cavalry, without attempting to make a stand. But it is probable they believed Douglas to be the advance of the army. Edward at last gained the castle of Dunbar, where he was hospitably received by the Earl of March, and from which he passed by sea to Berwick. In the meantime, Bruce sent a party to attack the fugitives who clustered round the rock of Stirling. These were immediately made prisoners, and having ascertained that no enemy remained, the king permitted his soldiers to pursue the fugitives, and give themselves up to plunder. The unfortunate stragglers were slaughtered by the peasantry, as they were dispersed over the country; and many of them, casting

Digitized by Google

away their arms and accoutrements, hid themselves in the woods, or fled almost naked from the field. Some idea of the extent and variety of the booty which was divided by the Scottish soldiers may be formed from the circumstance mentioned by an English historian, "That the chariots, waggons, and wheeled carriages, which were loaded with the baggage and military stores, would, if drawn up in a line, have extended for twenty leagues."

These, along with numerous herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep and swine; store of hay, corn, and wine; the vessels of gold and silver belonging to the king and his nobility; the money-chests holding the treasure for the payment of the troops; a large assemblage of splendid arms, rich wearing apparel, horse and tent furniture, from the royal wardrobe and private repositories of the knights and noblemen who were in the field; and a great booty in valuable horses, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and were distributed by Bruce amongst his soldiers with a generosity and impartiality which rendered him highly popular. Besides all this, Edward had brought along with him many instruments of war, and machines employed in the besieging of towns such as petronels, trebuchets, mangonels, and battering rams, which, intended for the demolition of the Scottish castles, now fell into the hands of Bruce, to be turned, in future wars, against England. The living booty,

Digitized by Google

too, in the many prisoners of rank who were taken, was great. Twenty-two barons and bannerets, and sixty knights, fell into the hands of the Scots. Considering the grievous injuries which he had personally sustained, the King of Scotland evinced a generous forbearance in the uses of his victory, which does him high honour: not only was there no unnecessary slaughter, no uncalled-for severity of retaliation, but, in their place, we find a high-toned courtesy, which has called forth the praises of his enemies. The body of the young and noble Earl of Gloucester was reverently carried to a neighbouring church, and every holy rite duly observed. It was afterwards sent to England, along with the last remains of the brave Lord Clifford, to be interred with the honours due to their rank. The rest of the slain were reverently buried upon the field. Early next morning, as the king examined the ground, Sir Marmaduke de Twenge, who had lurked all night in the woods, presented himself to Bruce, and, kneeling down, delivered himself as his prisoner. Bruce kindly raised him, retained him in his company for some time, and then dismissed him, not only without ransom, but enriched with presents.

It happened that one Baston, a Carmelite friar, and esteemed an excellent poet, had been commanded by Edward to accompany the army, that he might immortalise the expected triumph of his master. He

Digitized by Google

was taken; and Bruce commanded him, as an appropriate ransom, to celebrate the victory of the Scots at Bannockburn—a task which he has accomplished in a composition which still remains an extraordinary relic of the Leonine or rhyming hexameters.

On the day after the battle, Mowbray, the English governor of Stirling, having delivered up that fortress, entered into the service of the King of Scotland; and the Earl of Hereford, who had taken refuge in Bothwell castle, then in the hands of the English, capitulated, after a short siege, to Edward Bruce. This nobleman was exchanged for five illustrious prisoners, Bruce's wife, his sister Christian, his daughter Marjory, Wishart, the bishop of Glasgow, now blind, and the young Earl of Mar, nephew to the king. John de Segrave, made prisoner at Bannockburn, was ransomed for five Scottish barons; so that, in these exchanges, the English appear to have received nothing like an adequate value. The riches obtained by the plunder of the English, and the subsequent ransom paid for the multitude of prisoners, must have been great. The exact amount cannot be easily estimated, but some idea of it may be formed from the tone of deep lamentation assumed by the Monk of Malmesbury.

"O day of vengeance and of misfortune!" says he, "day of disgrace and perdition! unworthy to be included in the circle of the year, which tarnished the

Digitized by Google

fame of England, and enriched the Scots with the plunder of the precious stuffs of our nation, to the extent of two hundred thousand pounds. Alas! of how many noble barons, and accomplished knights, and high-spirited young soldiers,—of what a store of excellent arms, and golden vessels, and costly vestments, did one short and miserable day deprive us."

Two hundred thousand pounds of money in those times, amounts to about six hundred thousand pounds weight of silver, or nearly three millions of our present money. It is remarkable that Sir William Vipont, and Sir Walter Ross, the bosom friend of Edward Bruce, were the only persons of note who were slain on the side of the Scots, whose loss, even in common men, was small; proving how effectually their squares had repelled the English cavalry.

Such was the great battle of Bannockburn, interesting above all others which have been fought between the then rival nations, if we consider the issue which hung upon it; and glorious to Scotland, both in the determined courage with which it was disputed by the troops, the high military talents displayed by the king and his leaders, and the amazing disparity between the numbers of the combatants. Its consequences were in the highest degree important. It put an end for ever to all hopes upon the part of England of accomplishing the conquest of her sister country. The plan, of which we can discern the foundations as

Digitized by Google

far back as the reign of Alexander III., and for the furtherance of which the first Edward was content to throw away so much of treasure and blood, was put down in the way in which all such schemes ought to be defeated—by the strong hand of free-born men, who were determined to remain so; and the spirit of indignant resistance to foreign power, which had been awakened by Wallace, but crushed for a season by the dissensions of a jealous nobility, was concentrated by the master-spirit of Bruce, and found fully adequate to overwhelm the united military energies of a kingdom, far superior to Scotland in all that constituted military strength.

Digitized by Google

THE BATTLE OF HARLAW.

IN the year 1411, the attention of Scotland was diverted from many brief and insulated hostilities to events of a very serious and formidable nature, which shook the security of the government, and threatened to dismember a portion of the kingdom. This was the rebellion of Donald, Lord of the Isles. The ancient line of barons, which for a long period of years had succeeded to the earldom of Ross, ended at length in a female, Euphemia Ross, married to Sir Walter Lesley. Of this marriage there were two children: Alexander, afterwards Earl of Ross, and Margaret, married to Donald, Lord of the Isles. Alexander, Earl of Ross, married a daughter of the Duke of Albany, and had by her an only daughter, Euphemia, Countess of Ross, who became a nun, and resigned the earldom of Ross in favour of her uncle John, Earl of Buchan. This destination of the property, the Lord of the Isles steadily and haughtily resisted. He contended, that by Euphemia taking the veil,

Digitized by Google

she became civilly dead; and that the earldom of Ross belonged lawfully to him in right of Margaret, his wife. His plea was at once repelled by the governor; and this noble territory, which included the Isle of Skye and a district in the mainland equal in extent to a little kingdom, was declared to be the property of the Earl of Buchan. But the island prince, who had the pride and the power of an independent monarch, derided the award of Albany, and, collecting an army of ten thousand men, prepared not only to seize the disputed county, but determined to carry havoc and destruction into the heart of Scotland. Nor, in the midst of these ferocious designs, did he want somewhat of a statesman-like policy, for he engaged in repeated alliances with England; and as the naval force which he commanded was superior to any Scottish fleet which could be brought against them, his co-operation with the English in their attacks upon the Scottish commerce was likely to produce very serious effects.

When his preparations were completed, he at once broke in upon the earldom at the head of his fierce multitudes, who were armed after the fashion of their country, with swords fitted both to cut and thrust, poleaxes, bows and arrows, short knives, and round bucklers formed of wood, or strong hide, with bosses of brass or iron. The people of the country

Digitized by Google

readily submitted to him; to have attempted opposition, indeed, was impossible; and these northern districts had for many centuries been more accustomed to pay their allegiance to the Norwegian yarls, or pirate kings, whose power was at their door, than to acknowledge the remote superiority of the Scottish crown. At Dingwall, however, he was encountered by a formidable opponent in Angus Dhu, or Black Angus, who attacked him with great fierceness, but was overpowered and made prisoner, after his brother, Roderic Gald, and the greater part of his men had been cut to pieces.

The Lord of the Isles then ordered a general rendezvous of his army at Inverness, and sent his summons to levy all the fighting men in Boyne and Enzie, who were compelled to follow his banner, and to join the soldiers from the Isles; with this united force, consisting of the best levies in the islands and the north, he swept through Moray, meeting with none, or the most feeble resistance; whilst his soldiers covered the land like locusts, and the plunder of money, arms, and provisions, daily gave them new spirits and energy. Strathbogie was next invaded; and the extensive district of Garvyach, which belonged to his rival, the Earl of Mar, was delivered up to cruel and indiscriminate havoc. It had been the boast of the invader that he would burn the rich burgh of Aberdeen, and make a desert of the country

Digitized by Google

to the shores of the Tay; and as the smoke of his camp-fires was already seen on the banks of the Don, the unhappy burghers began to tremble in their booths, and to anticipate the realisation of these dreadful menaces. But their spirits soon rose when the Earl of Mar, whose reputation as a military leader was of the highest order, appeared at the head of an army composed of the bravest knights and gentlemen in Angus and the Mearns, and declared his resolution of instantly advancing against the invader. Mar had the advantage of having been bred up in the midst of Highland war, and at first distinguished himself, as we have seen, by his predatory expeditions at the head of the Highlanders. But his marriage with the Countess of Mar, and his reception at court, appear to have effectually changed his character: the savage habits of his early life were softened down, and left behind them a talent for war, and an ambition for renown, which restlessly sought for employment wherever there was a chance of gaining distinction. When on the continent, he had offered his services to the Duke of Burgundy; and the victory at Liege was mainly ascribed to his skill and courage, so that his reputation abroad was as distinguished as at home. In a short time he found himself at the head of the whole power of Mar and Garvyach, in addition to that of Angus and the Mearns; Sir Alexander Ogilvy, sheriff of Angus; Sir James Scrym-

Digitized by Google

geour, constable of Dundee, and hereditary standard bearer of Scotland; Sir Alexander Irvine, Sir Robert Melville, Sir William de Abernethy, nephew to Albany, and many other barons and esquires, with their feudal services, joined him with displayed banner; and Sir Robert Davidson, the provost of Aberdeen, and a troop of the stoutest burgesses, came forward to defend their hearths and their stalls from the ravages of the Lord of the Isles.

Mar immediatly advanced from Aberdeen, and, marching by Inverury, came in sight of the Highlanders at the village of Harlaw, on the water of Ury, not far from its junction with the Don. He found that his little army was immensely outnumbered—it is said, by nearly ten to one; but it consisted of the bravest barons in these parts; and his experience had taught him to consider a single knight in steel as a fair match against a whole troop of *ketherans*, or rude soldiers. Without delay, therefore, he intrusted the leading of the advance to the Constable of Dundee, and Ogilvy, the sheriff of Angus, who had with them a small but compact battalion of men-at-arms; whilst he himself followed with the rearward, composed of the main strength of his army, including the Irvings, the Maules, the Morays, the Straitons, the Lesleys, the Stirlings, the Lovels, headed by their chiefs, and with their banners and penoncelles waving amid their grove of spears. Of the Islesmen and

Digitized by Google

Highlanders, the principal leaders were the Lord of the Isles himself, with Macintosh and Maclean, the heads of their respective septs, and innumerable other chiefs and chieftains, animated by the old and deep-rooted hostility between the Celtic and the Saxon race.

The shock between two such armies may be easily imagined to have been dreadful: the Highlanders, who were ten thousand strong, rushing on with the fierce shouts and yells which it was their custom to raise in coming into battle, and the knights meeting them with levelled spears and ponderous maces and battle-axes. In his first onset, Scrymgeour and the men-at-arms who fought under him with little difficulty drove back the mass of Islesmen, and, cutting his way through their thick columns, made a cruel slaughter. But though hundreds fell around him, thousands poured in to supply their place, more fierce and fresh than their predecessors; whilst Mar, who had penetrated with his main army into the very heart of the enemy, found himself in the same difficulties, becoming every moment more tired with slaughter, more encumbered with the numbers of the slain, and less able to resist the increasing and reckless ferocity of the masses that still yelled and fought around him. It was impossible that this should continue much longer without making a fatal impression on the Scots and the effects of fatigue were soon seen. The Constable of Dundee was slain; and the Highlanders, en-

Digitized by Google

couraged by his fall, wielded their broadswords and Lochaber axes with murderous effect; seizing and stabbing the horses, and pulling down their riders, whom they despatched with their short daggers. In this way were slain some of the best soldiers of these northern districts. Sir Robert Davidson, with the greater part of the burgesses who fought around him, were amongst the number; and many of the families lost not only their chief, but every male in the house. Lesley of Balquhain, a baron of ancient lineage, is said to have fallen with six of his sons slain beside him. The Sheriff of Angus, with his eldest son George Ogilvy, Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, Sir Robert Maule, Sir Thomas Moray, William Abernethy, Alexander Straiton of Lauriston, James Lovel, Alexander Stirling, and above five hundred men-at-arms, including the principal gentry of Buchan, shared their fate; whilst Mar himself, and a small number of the survivors, still continued the battle till nightfall. The slaughter then ceased; and it was found in the morning that the island lord had retreated by Inverury and the hill of Bennachie, checked and broken certainly by the desperate contest, but neither conquered nor very effectually repulsed. Mar, on the contrary, although he passed the night on the field, did so, not in the triumphant assertion of victory, but from the effects of wounds and exhaustion: the best and bravest of his friends were stretched around him:

Digitized by Google

and he found himself totally unable to pursue the retreat of the Islesmen. Amongst those of the Highlanders who fell were the chiefs of Maclean and Mackintosh, with upwards of nine hundred men: a small loss compared with that sustained by the Lowlanders. The battle was fought on St James's Eve, the 24th of July; and from the ferocity with which it was contested, and the dismal spectacle of civil war and bloodshed exhibited to the country, it appears to have made a deep impression on the national mind. It fixed itself in the music and the poetry of Scotland. A march, called the Battle of Harlaw, continued to be a popular air down to the time of Drummond of Hawthornden; and a spirited ballad on the same event is still repeated in our own age, describing the meeting of the armies and the deaths of the chiefs in no ignoble strain. Soon after the battle a council-general was held by the governor, in which a statute was passed in favour of the heirs of those who had died in defence of the country, exempting them from the feudal fines usually exacted before they entered upon possession of their estates, and permitting them, although minors, immediately to serve heirs to their lands. It will, perhaps, be recollected that Bruce, on the eve of the battle of Bannockburn, encouraged his troops by a promise of the like nature. It was naturally suspected by Albany that the chief of the Isles, who was crippled rather

Digitized by Google

than conquered, had only fallen back to refresh his men and procure reinforcements from Ross-shire and the Hebrides; and as the result of the battle had shown that, however inferior in arms or in discipline, the Highlanders could make up for these disadvantages in numbers and ferocity, a renewal of the invasion was anticipated with alarm, and Albany determined to prevent it by an unwonted display of military spirit and activity. He collected an army in the autumn; marched in person to Dingwall, one of the principal castles of the ancient Earls of Ross, situated at the west end of the Cromarty Firth; and having made himself master of it, appointed a governor, and proceeded to repossess himself of the whole county of Ross. Donald, however, fell back upon his island strengths, and during the winter defied his enemies; but as soon as the summer permitted the resumption of hostilities, Albany again attacked him; and, after a war conducted with various success, the island king was compelled to lay down his assumed independence, and give up all claim to the earldom of Ross; to consent to become a vassal of the Scottish crown, and to deliver hostages for his future good behaviour. The treaty was concluded at Polgilbe, or Polgillip, now Loch Gilp, an arm of the sea running into the district of Knapdale, in Argyle. This successful termination of a rebellion which appeared so formidable in its commencement was followed by a truce with

Digitized by Google

England, in which it was declared that, from the river Spey in Scotland to the mount of St Michael in Cornwall, all hostilities between the two countries should cease after the 17th of May 1412, for the period of six years.

Digitized by Google

THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN.

EARLY in the year 1512, Lord Dacre and Dr West arrived at the court of James IV. in Scotland as ambassadors from England. Their object was to prevail on the king to renew his oath regarding the peace with England; to prevent the sailing of his fleet to the assistance of the French; and to offer, upon the part of their master, his oath for the observation of an inviolable amity with his brother. But the efforts of the English diplomatists were successfully counteracted by the abilities of the French ambassador, De la Motte, who was at the court of Scotland at the same time: they departed, with splendid presents indeed, for the king delighted in showing his generosity even to his enemies, but without any satisfactory answer; and James, instead of listening to Henry, renewed the league with France, consenting to the insertion of a clause which, in a spirit of foolish and romantic devotion, bound himself and his subjects to that

Digitized by Google

kingdom by stricter ties than before. About the same time an abortive attempt by the Scots to make themselves masters of Berwick, and an attack of a fleet of English merchantmen by De la Motte, who sunk three, and carried seven in triumph into Leith, must be considered equivalent to a declaration of war. Barton, too, Falconer, Mathison, and other veteran sea officers, received orders to be on the look-out for English ships; and, aware of the importance of a diversion on the side of Ireland, a league was entered into with O'Donnel, prince of Connal, who visited the Scottish court, and took the oath of homage to James: Duncan Campbell, one of the Highland chiefs, engaged at the same time to procure some Irish vessels to join the royal fleet—which it was now reckoned would amount to sixteen ships of war, besides smaller craft; a formidable armament for that period, and likely, when united to the squadron of the King of France, to prove, if skilfully commanded, an overmatch for the navy of England. Yet James's preparations, with his other sources of profusion, had so completely impoverished his exchequer, that it became a question whether he would be able to maintain the force which he had fitted out. In a private message sent to Lord Dacre, the Treasurer of Scotland appears to have stated that a present from Henry of five thousand angels, and the payment of the disputed legacy, which with much injustice was

Digitized by Google

still withheld, might produce a revolution in his policy; and it is certain that, on the arrival of letters from Lewis, instigating Scotland to declare war, the reply of the monarch pleaded the impossibility of obeying the injunction unless a large annuity was remitted by France. The Borderers, however, of both countries had already commenced hostilities; and Robert Barton, acting under his letters of reprisal, and scouring the narrow seas, came into Leith, after a successful cruise, with thirteen English prizes.

La Motte soon after again arrived from France with a small squadron laden with provisions for the Scottish fleet, besides warlike stores and rich presents to the king and his principal nobles. About the same time the King of Denmark sent several ships into Scotland freighted with arms, harness, and ammunition; and O'Donnel, the Irish potentate, visited the court in person to renew his offers of assistance against England. But an artful proceeding of Anne of Brittany, the consort of Lewis, had, a great effect in accelerating the war. This princess, who understood the romantic weakness of the Scottish king, addressed to him an epistle conceived in a strain of high-flown and amorous complaint. She described herself as an unhappy damsel, surrounded by danger, claimed his protection from the attacks of a treacherous monarch, and sent him, not only a present of

Digitized by Google

fourteen thousand crowns, but the still more tender gift of a ring from her own finger—a token to her faithful knight upon whose ready aid she implicitly relied. She concluded her letter by imploring him to advance, were it but three steps, into English ground for the sake of his mistress, as she had already suffered much misconstruction in defence of his honour, and in excusing the delay of his expedition. To another monarch than James an appeal like this would have been only excusable at a court pageant or a tournament; but such was his high-wrought sense of honour, that there can be litttle doubt it accelerated his warlike movements; and when, soon after its delivery, intelligence arrived of the passage of the English army to France, and the opening of the war by Henry VIII. in person, he at once considered all negotiation as at an end, issued his writs for a general muster of the whole force of his dominions, and ordered every ship in his service to put to sea.

The fleet which assembled evinces that the efforts of the king to create a navy had been eminently successful. It consisted of thirteen great ships, all of them, in the naval phraseology of the times, with three tops, besides ten smaller vessels, and a ship of Lynne lately captured. In addition to these there was the *Great Michael*, a thirty-oared galley which belonged to her, and two ships, the *Margaret* and the *James*, which, although damaged in a late gale, were

Digitized by Google

Wars of Scotland – *Page* 100.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

now repaired and ready to put to sea. Aboard this fleet was embarked a force of three thousand men, under the command of the Earl of Arran, a nobleman of limited experience in the art of war; one of the principal captains of the fleet was Gordon of Letter fury, a son of the Earl of Huntly; but unfortunately Arran's higher feudal rank and his title of Generalissimo included an authority over the fleet as well as the army, and this circumstance drew after it disastrous consequences. Why James should not have appointed some of his veteran sea officers—Barton, Wood, or Falconer—to conduct a navy of which he was so proud to its destination in France, is not easily discoverable, but it probably arose out of some hereditary feudal right which entailed upon rank a command due only to skill, and for which it soon appeared that the possessor was utterly incompetent.

Instead of obeying the orders which he had received from the king, who, with the object of encouraging his seamen, embarked in the *Great Michael*, and remained on board for some time, Arran conducted the fleet to Carrickfergus, in Ireland, landed his troops, and stormed the town with much barbarity, sparing neither age nor sex. The reckless brutality with which the city was given up to the unlicensed fury of the soldiery would at all times have been blameable, but at this moment it was committed

Digitized by Google

during a time of peace, and against the express promise of the king; yet such was the folly or simplicity of the perpetrator, that, with the spirit of a successful freebooter, he did not hesitate to put his ships about and return to Ayr with his plunder.

Incensed to the utmost by such conduct, and dreading that his delay might totally frustrate the object of the expedition, James despatched Sir Andrew Wood to supersede Arran in the command; but misfortune still pursued his measures, and before this experienced seaman could reach the coast the fleet had again sailed. Over the future history of an armament which was the boast of the sovereign, and whose equipment had cost the country an immense sum for those times, there rests a deep obscurity. That it reached France is certain, and it is equally clear that only a few ships ever returned to Scotland. Of its exploits nothing has been recorded—a strong presumptive proof that Arran's future conduct in no way redeemed the folly of his commencement. The war, indeed, between Henry and Lewis was so soon concluded, that little time was given for naval enterprise, and the solitary engagement by which it was distinguished (the battle of Spurs) appears to have been fought before the Scottish forces could join the French army. With regard to the final fate of the squadron, the probability seems to be that, after the defeat at Flodden, part, including the *Great Michael*,

Digitized by Google

were purchased by the French government; part arrived in a shattered and disabled state in Scotland, whilst others which had been fitted out by merchant adventurers, and were only commissioned by the government, pursued their private courses, and are lost sight of in the public transactions of the times. But we must turn from these unsatisfying conjectures to the important and still more disastrous events which were passing in Scotland.

Although the war was condemned by the wisest heads amongst his council, and the people, with the exception of the Borderers, whose trade was plunder, deprecated the interruption of their pacific labours, so great was the popularity of the king, that from one end of the country to the other his summons for the muster of his army was devotedly obeyed. The Lowland counties collected in great strength, and from the Highlands and the remotest Isles the hardy inhabitants hastened under their several chiefs to join the royal banner. The Earl of Argyle, MacIan of Ardnamurchan, Maclean of Dowart, and Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurcha, with many other barons, led their clansmen and vassals to support the quarrel of their sovereign, and within a short period James saw himself at the head of an army, which at the lowest computation was a hundred thousand strong.

On the same day in which his fleet had sailed, a herald was despatched to France, who found the

Digitized by Google

English monarch in his camp before Terouen, and delivered a letter, of which the tone was calculated to incense a milder monarch than Henry. It dwelt with some exaggeration upon the repeated injuries and insults which James had received from his brother-in-law. It accused him of refusing a safe-conduct to his ambassador, (a proceeding worthy only of an infidel power;) it upbraided him with a want of common justice and affection in withholding from his sister, the Queen of Scotland, the jewels and the legacy which had been left her by her father; it asserted that the conduct of England, in a late meeting of the commissioners of the two countries on the Borders, had been deficient in honour and good faith; that Heron, the murderer of a Scottish baron, who was dear to the king, was protected in that country; that Scottish subjects in time of peace had been carried off in fetters across the Border; that Andrew Barton had been slaughtered, and his ships unjustly captured by Henry's admiral; whilst that prince not only refused all redress, but showed the contempt with which he treated the demand by declaring war against James's relative, the Duke of Gueldres, and now invading the dominions of his friend and ally the King of France. Wherefore it concluded,

"We require you to desist from further hostilities against this most Christian prince, certifying your highness that in case of refusal we shall hold our-

Digitized by Google

selves bound to assist him by force of arms, and to compel you to abandon the pursuit of so unjust a war."

On perusing this letter, Henry broke out into an expression of ungovernable rage, and demanded of the Scottish envoy whether he would carry a verbal answer to his master.

"Sir," said the Lyon herald, "I am his natural subject, and what he commands me to say that must I boldly utter; but it is contrary to my allegiance to report the commands of others. May it please your highness, therefore, to send an answer in writing—albeit the matter requires deeds rather than words—since it is the king my master's desire that you should straightway return home."

"That shall I do," replied Henry, "at mine own pleasure, and not at your sovereign's bidding," adding many injurious reflections upon the broken faith and treachery of the Scottish king; to which the herald replied, as he had been instructed, by a denunciation of war. It was thought proper, however, that a graver answer should be sent to James's remonstrance, and a letter was forthwith drawn up which in violence exceeded it; but as the herald was detained on his return in Flanders, and did not reach Scotland till after the fatal result of Flodden, it was never delivered to the king.

The English monarch boasted, on being informed of

Digitized by Google

James's resolution, that he had left the task of defending his dominions to a noble person who knew well how to execute it with fidelity, and he now addressed his orders to the Earl of Surrey, enjoining him with all expedition to summon the array of the northern counties, and to hold himself in readiness to resist the invasion. It was, indeed, high time to accelerate his levies, for Home, the Lord Chamberlain, at the head of a force of eight thousand men, had already burst across the English Border, and after laying waste the country, was returning home with his booty. A long interval of peace, however, had been followed, as usual, by a decay of military skill amongst the Scots. The chamberlain neglecting his discipline, forgot to push on his pickets, but marching in a confused mass, embarrassed by the cattle which he drove before him, and thoughtless of an enemy, was surprised and defeated with great slaughter at a pass called the Broomhouse by Sir William Bulmer. The action was, as usual, decided by the English archers, who, concealing themselves in the tall furze with which the place abounded, struck down the Scottish companies by an unexpected discharge of their arrows. This being often repeated, the confusion of their ranks became irrecoverable, and the English horse breaking in upon them gained an easy victory. Five hundred were slain upon the spot, and their leader compelled to fly for his life, leaving his banner on the field, and his

Digitized by Google

brother, Sir George Home, with four hundred men prisoners in the hands of the English. The remainder, consisting of Borderers more solicitous for the preservation of their booty than their honour, dispersed upon the first alarm, and the whole affair was far from creditable to the Scots. So much was the king incensed and mortified by the result of this action, that his mind, already resolved on war, became impatient to wipe out the stain inflicted on the national honour, and he determined instantly to lead his army in person against England.

This was a fatal resolve, and appeared full of rashness and danger to his wisest councillors, who did not scruple to advise him to protract hostilities. The queen earnestly besought him to spare her the unnatural spectacle of seeing her husband arrayed in mortal contest against her brother; and when open remonstrance produced no effect, other methods were employed to work upon the superstition which formed so marked a feature in the royal mind. At Linlithgow, a few days before he set out for his army whilst attending vespers in the church of St Michael, adjacent to his palace, a venerable stranger of a stately appearance entered the aisle where the king knelt; his head was uncovered, his hair, parted over his forehead, flowed down his shoulders, his robe was blue, tied round his loins with a linen girdle, and there was an air of majesty about him, which inspired

Digitized by Google

the beholders with awe. Nor was this feeling decreased when the unknown visitant walked up to the king, and leaning over the reading-desk, where he knelt, thus addressed him—

"Sir, I am sent to warn thee not to proceed in thy present undertaking—for if thou dost, it shall not fare well either with thyself or those who go with thee. Further, it hath been enjoined me to bid thee shun the familiar society and counsels of women, lest they occasion thy disgrace and destruction."

The boldness of these words, which were pronounced audibly, seemed to excite the indignation neither of the king nor those around him. All were struck with superstitious dread, whilst the figure, using neither salutation nor reverence, retreated and vanished amongst the crowd. Whither he went, or how he disappeared, no one, when the first feelings of astonishment had subsided, could tell; and although the strictest inquiry was made, all remained a mystery. Sir David Lindsay and Sir James Inglis, who belonged to the household of the young prince, stood close beside the king when the stranger appeared, and it was from Lindsay that Buchanan received the story. The most probable conjecture seems to be, that it was a stratagem of the queen, of which it is likely the monarch had some suspicion, for it produced no change in his purpose, and the

Digitized by Google

denunciation of the danger of female influence was disregarded.

On arriving at head-quarters, James was flattered with the evidence he had before him of the affectionate loyalty of his subjects. The war was unpopular with the nobles, yet such was the strength with which the Lowland counties had mustered, and the readiness with which the remotest districts had sent their vassals, that he saw himself at the head of a noble army, admirably equipped, and furnished with a train of artillery superior to that which had been brought into the field by any former monarch of Scotland. Leaving his capital, and apparently without having formed any definite plan of operations, the monarch entered England on the 22d of August 1513; encamping that night on the banks of the river Till, a tributary stream to the Tweed. Here he seems to have remained inactive for two days; and on the 24th, with the view of encouraging his army, he passed an act, that the heirs of all who fell in the present campaign should not be subject to the common feudal fines, but should be free from the burdens of "ward, relief, or marriage," without regard to age.

The proclamation is dated at Twiselhaugh, and from this place he moved down the side of the Tweed, and invested the castle of Norham, which surrendered after a seige of a week. He then proceeded up the

Digitized by Google

Tweed to Wark, of which he made himself master with equal ease; and advancing for a few miles, delayed some precious days before the towers of Etal and Ford—enterprises unworthy of his arms, and more befitting the raid of a Border freebooter, than the efforts of a royal army. At Ford, which was stormed and razed, Lady Heron, a beautiful and artful woman, the wife of Sir William Heron, who was still a prisoner in Scotland, became James's captive; and the king, ever the slave of beauty, is said to have resigned himself to her influence, which she employed to retard his military operations. Time was thus given for the English army to assemble. Had Douglas or Randolph commanded the host, they would have scoured and laid waste the whole of the north of England within the period that the monarch had already wasted; but James's military experience did not go beyond the accomplishments of a tournament; and although aware that his army was encamped in a barren country, where they must soon become distressed, he idled away his days till the opportunity was past.

Whilst such was the course pursued by the king, the Earl of Surrey, concentrating the strength of the northern counties, soon raised an army of twenty-six thousand men; and marching through Durham, received there the sacred banner of St Cuthbert. He was soon after joined by Lord Dacre, Sir William

Digitized by Google

Bulmer, Sir Marmaduke Constable, and other northern barons; and on proceeding to Alnwick, was met by his son, Lord Thomas Howard, who on the death of his brother, Sir Edward, had succeeded him in the office of Lord High-Admiral of England, with a reinforcement of five thousand men. On advancing with this united force, Surrey despatched Rouge Croix herald to carry his challenge to the King of Scots, which was couched in the usual stately terms of feudal defiance. It reproached him with having broken his faith and league, which had been solemnly pledged to the King of England, in thus invading his dominions,—and offered him battle on the succeeding Friday, if he would be content to remain so long in England and accept it. Lord Thomas Howard added a message informing the king that, as high-admiral, and one who had borne a personal share in the action against Andrew Barton, he was now ready to justify the death of that pirate, for which purpose he would lead the vanguard, where his enemies, from whom he expected as little mercy as he meant to grant them, would be sure to find him.

To this challenge James instantly replied that "he desired nothing more earnestly than the encounter, and would abide the battle on the day appointed." As to the accusation of broken honour, which had been brought against him, he desired his herald to carry a broad denial of the statement. "Our bond

Digitized by Google

and promise," he observed, "was to remain true to our royal brother, so long as he maintained his faith with us. This he was the first to break; we have desired redress, and have been denied it; we have warned him of our intended hostility,—a courtesy which he has refused to us; and this is our just quarrel, which, with the grace of God, we shall defend."

These mutual messages passed on the 4th of September; and on the day appointed, Surrey advanced against the enemy. By this time, however, the distress for provisions, the incessant rains, and the obstinacy of the king in wasting upon his pleasures, and his observation of the punctilios of chivalry, the hours which might have been spent in active warfare, had created dissatisfaction in the soldiers, many of whom deserted with the booty they had already collected, so that in a short time the army was much diminished in numbers. To accept the challenge of his adversary, and permit him to appoint a day for the encounter, was contrary to the advice of his best councillors; and he might have recollected that, in circumstances almost similar, two great masters in war, Douglas and Randolph, had treated a parallel proposal of Edward III. with a sarcastic refusal. He had the sagacity, however, to change his first encampment for a stronger position on the hill of Flodden, one of the last and lowest eminences which detach

Digitized by Google

themselves from the range of the Cheviots; a ground skilfully chosen, inaccessible on both flanks, and defended in front by the river Till, a deep sluggish stream, which wound between the armies.

On advancing and reconnoitring the spot, Surrey, who despaired of being able to attack the Scots without exposing himself to the probability of defeat, again sent a herald, to request the king to descend from the eminence into the plain. He complained somewhat unreasonably that James had "putte himself into a ground more like a fortress or a camp, than any indifferent field for battle to be taxed;" and hoping to work on the chivalrous spirit of the monarch, hinted that "such conduct did not sound to his honour;" but James would not even admit the messenger into his presence. So far all had succeeded, and nothing was required on the part of the king but patience. He had chosen an impregnable position, had fulfilled his agreement by abiding the attack of the enemy; and such was the distress of Surrey's army in a wasted country, that to keep it longer together was impossible. He attempted, therefore, a decisive measure, which would have appeared desperate unless he had reckoned upon the carelessness and inexperience of his opponent. Passing the Till on the 8th of September, he proceeded along some rugged grounds on its east side to Barmoor Wood, about two miles distant from the Scot-

Digitized by Google

tish position, where he encamped for the night. His march was concealed from the enemy by an eminence on the east of Ford; but that the manœuvre was executed without observation or interruption, evinced a shameful negligence in the Scottish commanders. Early on the morning of the 9th he marched from Barmoor Wood in a north-westerly direction; and then turning suddenly to the eastward, crossed the Till with his vanguard and artillery, which was commanded by Lord Howard, at Twisel bridge, not far from the confluence of the Till and the Tweed,—whilst the rear division, under Surrey in person passed the river at a ford, about a mile higher up.

Whilst these movements were taking place, with a slowness which afforded ample opportunity for a successful attack, the Scottish king remained unaccountably passive. His veteran officers remonstrated. They showed him that if he advanced against Surrey, when the enemy were defiling over the bridge with their vanguard separated from the rear, there was every chance of destroying them in detail, and gaining an easy victory.

The Earl of Angus, whose age and experience gave great weight to his advice, implored him either to assault the English, or to change his position by a retreat, ere it was too late; but his prudent counsel was only received by a cruel taunt,—

'Angus," said the king, "if you are afraid, you may

Digitized by Google

go home;" a reproach which the spirit of the old baron could not brook. Bursting into tears, he turned mournfully away, observing that his former life might have spared him such a rebuke from the lips of his sovereign.

"My age," said he, "renders my body of no service, and my counsel is despised; but I leave my two sons and the vassals of Douglas in the field: may the result be glorious, and Angus's foreboding unfounded!"

The army of Surrey was still marching across the bridge, when Borthwick, the master of the artillery, fell on his knees before the king, and earnestly solicited permission to bring his guns to bear upon the columns, which might be then done with the most destructive effect; but James commanded him to desist on peril of his head, declaring that he would meet his antagonist on equal terms in a plain field, and scorned to avail himself of such an advantage. The counsel of Huntly was equally ineffectual; the remonstrance of Lord Lindsay of the Byres, a rough warrior, was received by James with such vehement indignation, that he threatened on his return to hang him up at his own gate. Time ran on amidst these useless altercations, and the opportunity was soon irrecoverable. The last divisions of Surrey's force had disentangled themselves from the narrow bridge; the rear had passed the ford; and the earl, marshalling his army

Digitized by Google

with the leisure which his enemy allowed him, placed his entire line between James and his own country. He was thus enabled, by an easy and gradual ascent, which led to Flodden, to march upon the rear of the enemy; and, without losing his advantage for a moment, he advanced against them in full array, his army being divided into two battles, and each battle having two wings. On becoming aware of this, the king immediately set fire to the temporary huts and booths of his encampment, and descended the hill, with the object of occupying the eminence on which the village of Brankston is built. His army was divided into five battles, some of which had assumed the form of squares, some of wedges; and all were drawn up in line, about a bow-shot distance from each other. Their march was conducted in complete silence; and the clouds of smoke which arose from the burning camp, being driven in the face of the enemy, mutually concealed the armies; so that when the breeze freshened, and the misty curtain was withdrawn, the two hosts discovered that they were within a quarter of a mile of each other. The arrangement of both armies was simple. The van of the English, which consisted of ten thousand men, divided into a centre and two wings, was led by Lord Thomas Howard; the right wing being intrusted to his brother, Sir Edmund, and the left to Sir Marmaduke Constable. In the main centre of his host, Surrey

Digitized by Google

himself commanded; the charge of the rear was given to Sir Edward Stanley; and a strong body of horse, under Lord Dacre, formed a reserve. Upon the part of the Scots, the Earls of Home and Huntly led the vanguard or advance; the king the centre, and the Earls of Lennox and Argyle the rear: near which was the reserve, consisting of the flower of the Lothians, commanded by the Earl of Bothwell. The battle commenced at four in the afternoon by a furious charge of Huntly and Home upon the portion of the English vanguard under Sir Edmund Howard: which, after some resistance, was thrown into confusion, and totally routed. Howard's banner was beaten down; and he himself escaped with difficulty, falling back on his brother, the admiral's division. The commander, dreading the consequences of the defeat, instantly despatched a messenger to his father, Lord Surrey, entreating him to extend his line with all speed and strengthen the van by drawing up a part of the centre on its left. The manœuvre was judicious, but it would have required too long a time to execute it; and, at this critical moment, Lord Dacre galloped forward with his cavalry, to the support of the vanguard. Nothing could have been more timely than this assistance; he not only checked the career of the Scottish earls, but, being seconded by the intrepid attack of the admiral, drove back the division of Huntly with great slaughter, whilst Home's men,

Digitized by Google

who were chiefly Borderers, imagining they had already gained the victory, began to disperse and pillage. Dacre and the admiral then turned their attack against another portion of the Scottish vanguard, led by the Earls of Crawford and Montrose, who met them with levelled spears, and resolutely withstood the charge. Whilst such was the state of things on the right, a desperate contest was carried on between James and the Earl of Surrey in the centre. In his ardour, however, the king forgot that the duties of a commander were distinct from the indiscriminate valour of a knight; he placed himself in the front of his lances and billmen, surrounded by his nobles, who, whilst they pitied the gallant weakness of such conduct, disdained to leave their sovereign unsupported. The first consequence of this was so furious a charge upon the English centre, that its ranks were broken; and for a while the standard of the Earl of Surrey was in danger; but by this time Lord Dacre and the admiral had been successful in defeating the division led by Crawford and Montrose; and, wheeling towards the left, they turned their whole strength against the flank of the Scottish centre, which wavered under the shock till the Earl of Bothwell came up with the reserve, and restored the day in this quarter. On the right the divisions led by the Earls of Lennox and Argyle were composed chiefly of the Highlanders and Islemen;

Digitized by Google

the Campbells, Macleans, Macleods, and other hardy clans, who were dreadfully galled by the discharge of the English archers. Unable to reach the enemy with their broadswords and axes, which formed their only weapons, and at no time very amenable to discipline, their squadrons began to run fiercely forward, eager for closer fight and thoughtless of the fatal consequences of breaking their array. It was to little purpose that La Motte and the French officers who were with him attempted by entreaties and blows to restrain them; they neither understood their language nor cared for their violence, but threw themselves sword in hand upon the English. They found, however, an enemy in Sir Edward Stanley, whose coolness was not to be surprised in this manner. The squares of English pikemen stood to their ground; and although for a moment the shock of the mountaineers was terrible, its force once sustained became spent with its own violence, and nothing remained but a disorganisation so complete that to recover their ranks was impossible. The consequence was a total rout of the right wing of the Scots, accompanied by a dreadful slaughter, in which, amid other brave men, the Earls of Lennox and Argyle were slain. Yet, notwithstanding this defeat on the right, the centre, under the king, still maintained an obstinate and dubious conflict with the Earl of Surrey. The determined personal valour of James, imprudent

Digitized by Google

as it was, had the effect of rousing to a pitch of desperate courage the meanest of the private soldiers, and the ground becoming soft and slippery from blood, they pulled off their boots and shoes, and secured a firmer footing by fighting in their hose. No quarter was given on either side; and the combatants were disputing every inch of ground, when Stanley, without losing his time in pursuit of the Highlanders, drew back his division, and impetuously charged the rear of the Scottish centre. It was now late in the evening, and this movement was decisive. Pressed on the flank by Dacre and the admiral, opposed in front by Surrey, and now attacked in the rear by Stanley, the king's battle fought with fearful odds against it; yet James continued by his voice and his gestures to animate his soldiers, and the contest was still uncertain when he fell pierced with an arrow, and mortally wounded in the head by a bill, within a few paces from the English earl, his antagonist. The death of their sovereign seemed only to animate the fury of the Scottish nobles, who threw themselves into a circle round the body, and defended it till darkness separated the combatants. At this time Surrey was uncertain of the result of the battle, the remains of the enemy's centre still held the field; Home with his Borderers hovered on the left, and the commander wisely allowed neither pursuit nor plunder, but drew off his men, and kept a strict watch during the night.

Digitized by Google

When the morning broke, the Scottish artillery were seen standing deserted on the side of the hill, their defenders had disappeared, and the earl ordered thanks to be given for a victory which was no longer doubtful. He then created forty knights on the field, and permitted Lord Dacre to follow the retreat; yet, even after all this, a body of the Scots appeared unbroken upon a hill, and were about to charge the lord admiral, when they were compelled to leave their position by a discharge of the English ordnance. The soldiers then ransacked the camp, and seized the artillery which had been abandoned. It consisted of seventeen cannon, of various shapes and dimensions, amongst which were six guns admirable for their fabric and beauty, named by the late monarch the Six Sisters, which Surrey boasted were longer and larger than any in the arsenal of the King of England. The loss of the Scots in this fatal battle amounted to about ten thousand men. Of these a great proportion were of high rank; the remainder being composed of the gentry, the farmers, and landed yeomanry, who disdained to fly when their sovereign and his nobles lay stretched in heaps around them. Amongst the slain were thirteen earls—Crawford, Montrose, Huntly, Lennox, Argyle, Errol, Athole, Morton, Cassillis, Bothwell, Rothes, Caithness, and Glencairn, the king's natural son, the Archbishop of St Andrews, who had been educated abroad

Digitized by Google

by Erasmus, the Bishops of Caithness and the Isles, the Abbots of Inchaffray and Kilwinning, and the Dean of Glasgow. To these we must add fifteen lords and chiefs of clans: amongst whom were Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurcha, Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart, Campbell of Lawers, and five peers' eldest sons, besides La Motte, the French ambassador, and the secretary of the king. The names of the gentry who fell are too numerous for recapitulation, since there were few families of note in Scotland which did not lose one relative or another, whilst some houses had to weep the death of all. It is from this cause that the sensations of sorrow and national lamentation occasioned by the defeat were peculiarly poignant and lasting; so that to this day few Scotsmen can hear the name of Flodden without a shudder of gloomy regret. The body of James was found on the morrow amongst the thickest of the slain and recognised by Lord Dacre, although much disfigured by wounds. It was carried to Berwick, and ultimately interred at Richmond. In Scotland, however, the affection of the people for their monarch led them to disbelieve the account of his death; it was well known that several of his nobles had worn in the battle a dress similar to the king's; and to this we may probably trace a report that James had been seen alive after his defeat. Many long and fondly believed that, in completion of a religious vow, he

Digitized by Google

had travelled to Jerusalem, and would return to claim the crown.*

The causes which led to this defeat are of easy detection, and must be traced chiefly to the king himself. His obstinacy rendered him deaf to the advice of his officers, and his ignorance of war made his individual judgment the most dangerous guide. The days which he wasted in the siege of Norham and Etal, or squandered at Ford, gave his enemy time to concentrate his army, and, when the hosts were in sight of each other, he committed another error in permitting Surrey to dictate to him the terms on which they were to engage. A third blunder was the neglect of attacking the English in crossing the river, and his obstinacy in not employing his artillery, which might have broken and destroyed the enemy in detail, and rendered their defeat when in confusion comparatively easy. Last of all, James's thoughtlessness in the battle was as conspicuous as his want of judgment before it. When Surrey, mindful of his duty, kept himself as much as possible out of the deadly brunt of the conflict, and was able to watch its progress, and to give each division his prompt assistance, the Scot-

* Godwin in his Annals, p. 22, mentions, "That when James's body was found, his neck was opened in the middle with a wide wound, his left hand, almost cut off in two places, did scarce hang to his arm, and the archers had shot him in many places of his body."

Digitized by Google

tish monarch acted the part of Richard or Amadis, more solicitous for the display of his individual bravery and prowess, than anxious for the defeat of the enemy. It was a gallant but a fatal weakness, which cannot be sufficiently condemned; dearly expiated, indeed, by the death of the unfortunate prince himself, whose fate, some may think, ought to defend him from such severity of censure; but when we consider the flood of noble and of honest blood which was poured out at Flodden, and the long train of national misfortunes which this disaster entailed upon the country, it is right that the miseries of unnecessary warfare, and the folly of a thirst for individual glory, should be pointed out for the admonition of future ages.

Digitized by Google

THE BATTLE OF PINKIE.

DURING the year 1546, the Scottish governor had been constantly engaged in war with England, and being apprehensive that the people, fatigued with perpetual hostilities, might be reluctant to answer a summons for an army wanted to meet an expected invasion, he in the year following adopted an expedient for assembling an army, which was seldom used except in cases of imminent peril. He sent the Fiery Cross throughout the country—a warlike symbol of Celtic origin, constructed of two slender rods of hazel, formed into the shape of a cross, the extremities seared in the fire and extinguished when red and blazing in the blood of a goat, slain for the occasion. From this slight description, it is evident that the custom may be traced back to pagan times; and it is certain that, throughout the Highland districts of the country, its summons, wherever it was carried, was regarded with awe, and obeyed without hesita

Digitized by Google

tion. Previous to this, we do not hear of its having been adopted in the Lowlands; but on the present emergency, being fastened to the point of a spear, it was transmitted by the heralds and pursuivants throughout every part of the realm; from town to town, from village to village, from hamlet to hamlet, the ensanguined symbol flew with astonishing rapidity; and such was its effect, that in a wonderfully short space of time an army of thirty-six thousand men assembled near Musselburgh.

The Duke of Somerset had entered Scotland, on the 2d of September 1547, and without interruption advanced along the coast, within sight of the English fleet which was accompanying the army, till he arrived at a defile, situated in the north of Berwickshire, then called the Peaths, a deep ravine, over which at the present day is thrown the Pease Bridge. It has been well described as a "valley stretching towards the sea six miles in length, the banks of which were so steep on either side, that the passage across was not direct, but by paths leading slope-wise, which being many, the place is for that reason called the Peaths, or paths." It was reported in the English host that the Scots were here prepared to resist the further advance of the English; and undoubtedly such was the advantage of the ground that, with even a small portion of military skill, a far inferior force might have discomfited their whole army; yet this

Digitized by Google

opportunity was neglected—a circumstance which can only be accounted for by the fact that most of the proprietors of the country through which the enemy held their march were attached to the interests of the enemy. We know that in Henry Balnaves's register were the names of two hundred gentlemen, who were under promise to England; and when his army lay at Newcastle, the protector received a visit from the Laird of Mangertown, and forty barons of the east Borders, who tendered their services and were courteously received. The little obstruction which Somerset met during the whole course of his march may be thus explained.

Having employed the greatest part of a day in conducting the army, and dragging the artillery through this rugged pass, the duke made himself master of the neighbouring castles of Dunglass, Thornton, and Innerwick in Haddingtonshire, and leaving Dunbar within a gunshot on his right, he pushed forward to East Linton, where the army crossed the Tyne by the narrow bridge which still remains, whilst the horsemen and carriages forded the river. Here the enemy neglected another excellent opportunity of attacking the English force when defiling across Linton Bridge. They contented themselves with pushing forward some of their prickers, or light horse, under Dandy Car, a noted Borderer, whose little squadron was put to flight by a charge led by Lord

Digitized by Google

Warwick. Advancing past Hailes Castle, which opened upon them an ineffectual cannonade, they proceeded, on the 7th September, to Longniddry, where they encamped for the night. Here the protector, communicating by signal with his fleet, which lay near Leith, Lord Clinton the admiral came ashore; and after a conference it was resolved that the larger ships should leave the roads at Leith, and cast anchor beside Musselburgh, whilst the transports and victuallers should beat in as near as possible to the shore. The English were now aware that the Scottish army lay beside Musselburgh, and during the march of the succeeding day there were generally in view some small bodies of their light cavalry, which kept galloping backwards and forwards on the eminences overhanging their line of march.

On September the 8th, the protector halted for the night, and encamped near a town called Salt Preston, now Prestonpans, within view of the enemy's camp at Edmonstone Edge, about three miles distant. On his right to the north was the Firth, and towards the south, not far distant, rose the hill of Faside. Upon the long elevated ridges which formed the roots of the hill the Scottish cavalry showed themselves early next morning, and approached the English vanguard, whooping, shaking their lances, and attempting to provoke them to an onset. They

Digitized by Google

formed a force of one thousand five hundred light horse, led by Lord Hume, and near them lay in ambush a body of five hundred foot. Somerset, however, from the forwardness of these prickers, suspected that they reckoned on some nearer support than was discernible, and gave strict orders to his men to preserve their ranks; but Lord Grey, impatient of such provocation, extorted leave to try the effect of a charge. Accordingly, as soon as they came, "scattered on the spur," within a stonecast of the English, and after their usual shouting, were beginning to wheel about, Grey with his demi-lances and a thousand men-at-arms, charged them at full speed, upon which they faced about, and firmly received his onset. The weight of the men-at-arms, however, and their barbed steeds, were an overmatch for the slight, though hardy hackneys of the Borderers; and after maintaining the conflict for three hours, they were entirely broken, and the greatest part of them cut to pieces. The chase continued for three miles, from Faside Hill to the right wing of their army, which lay to the south. In this unfortunate affair thirteen hundred men were slain within sight of their camp, Lord Hume was severely wounded, his son, the Master of Hume, taken prisoner, and the whole body of the Scottish cavalry nearly destroyed, —a loss seriously felt in the next day's battle.

After this success the protector, accompanied by a

Digitized by Google

small party, descended from Faside Hill, by a lane which led directly north, to the church of Inveresk. His object was to examine the position occupied by the Scots; and he was enabled to do so effectually, as the course he took ran almost parallel to their camp, which he could see distinctly. Nothing could be better chosen for strength and security than the ground whereon they lay: defended on the right by a morass which stretched towards the south, on the left by the Firth, and in front, looking eastward, by the river Esk, which took its course between them and the enemy. Over this river, to the north and near the Firth, was the bridge of Musselburgh, upon which they had placed their ordnance, so that it was evident to the English commander, upon a slight inspection, that if they chose to keep their position, it would be impossible to attack them with advantage, or bring them to a battle. Somerset, however, did not fail to observe that their camp was partially commanded by the hill of Inveresk, and by the higher parts of the lane which led from Faside Hill; and having resolved to occupy these places with his ordnance, with the object of forcing them to dislodge from their strong ground, he rode back to his own camp.

On the road he was overtaken by a Scottish herald, with his tabard on, accompanied by a trumpeter, who brought a message from the governor. The herald

Digitized by Google

said his first errand was for an exchange of prisoners, his second to declare that his master, eager to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, was willing to allow him to retreat without molestation, and upon honourable conditions. The trumpeter next addressed the duke, informing him that, in case such terms were not accepted, his master, the Earl of Huntly, willing to bring the quarrel to a speedy conclusion, was ready to encounter him twenty to twenty, ten to ten, or, if he would so far honour him, man to man.

To these messages Somerset made a brief and temperate reply. He declared, turning to the herald, that his coming into Scotland had been at the first to seek peace, and to obtain such terms as should be for the good of either realm. His quarrel, he added, was just; he trusted, therefore, God would prosper it; and since the governor had already rejected such conditions as would never again be proffered, he must look now to its being decided by arms.

"And as for thy master," said he, addressing the trumpeter, "he lacketh some discretion to send his challenge to one who, by reason of the weighty charge he bears, (no less than the government of a king's person and the protection of his realm,) hath no power to accept it; whilst there are yet many noble gentlemen here, his equals in rank, to whom he might have addressed his cartel, without fear of a refusal."

Digitized by Google

At this moment the Earl of Warwick broke eagerly in, telling the messenger that he would not only accept the challenge, but would give him a hundred crowns if he brought back his master's consent.

"Nay," said Somerset, "Huntly is not equal in rank to your lordship; but, herald, tell the governor, and the Earl of Huntly also, that we have now spent some time in your country: our force is but a small company—yours far exceeds us; yet bring me word they will meet us in a plain field, and thou shalt have a thousand crowns for thy pains, and thy masters fighting enough."

The herald and his companion were then dismissed, and the protector pursued his way to the camp, where, after a consultation with his officers, it was thought proper, notwithstanding the challenge so lately given, to make a final effort to avert hostilities. A letter was accordingly addressed to the governor, in which Somerset declared his readiness to retreat from the kingdom on the single condition that the Scots would consent to keep their youthful queen in her own country, unfettered by any agreement with the French government, until she had reached a marriageable age, and was able to say for herself whether she would abide by the matrimonial treaty with England. Had such moderate and equitable proposals been made previous to the declaration of hostilities, they would probably have been accepted,

Digitized by Google

but coming at so questionable a moment, they appeared to the governor to be dictated rather by a conviction in the protector, that he could no longer support his army in an enemy's country, than by any real love of peace. On showing the letter to Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, who was much in his confidence, he expressed the same opinion; and it was agreed to suppress the communication entirely, whilst a report was spread that an insulting, instead of a conciliatory message had been transmitted, requiring the Scots to deliver up their queen, and submit themselves to the mercy of their enemy.

Such being the result of this last attempt, nothing was left to either party but an appeal to arms; and early on the morning of the 10th of September, the Duke of Somerset broke up his camp, and gave orders for the army to advance towards the hill of Inveresk, his design being to encamp near that spot, and to plant his ordnance on the eminence commanding the Scottish position. This movement was no sooner perceived by the Scottish governor than he embraced the extravagant idea that the protector had commenced his retreat towards his fleet, which had removed two days before from Leith, and now lay in Musselburgh Bay, with the design of embarking his army. He instantly resolved to anticipate him, by throwing himself between the English and their ships; and disregarding the advice of his best officers, who

Digitized by Google

earnestly recommended him to keep his strong position, till, at least, the demonstrations of the enemy became more definite, he gave orders for the whole army to dislodge and pass the river. Angus, who led the vanward, deeming it madness to throw away their advantage, refused to obey; but being charged on pain of treason to pass forward, he forded the river, and was followed, although after some delay, by the governor, who led the main battle, and the Earl of Huntly with his northland men, who formed the rear. The advance mustered ten thousand strong, embracing the strength of Fife, Mearns, Angus, and the West Country; it was flanked on the right by some pieces of artillery drawn by men, and on the left by four hundred light horse; it included also a large body of priests and monks, who marched under a white banner, on which was painted a female kneeling before a crucifix, her hair dishevelled, and embroidered underneath, the motto, "Afflictæ Ecclesiæ ne obliviscaris."

In the main battle was the power of Lothian, Fife, Strathern, Stirlingshire, and the great body of the barons of Scotland, having on the right wing the Earl of Argyle, with four thousand West Highlanders, and on the left the Islesmen, with Macleod, Macgregor, and other chieftains. It was defended also on both flanks by some pieces of artillery, as was likewise the rear, but the guns were clumsily worked, and seem to have done little execution; whilst the Scots, though

Digitized by Google

greatly superior in number, were inferior in military strength, from their having neither hagbutteers nor men-at-arms.

This movement of the Scots, in abandoning their advantage and crossing the river, was viewed with equal astonishment and pleasure by the English commander. He had dislodged from his camp, and commenced his march at eight in the morning; and before he was half way to Inveresk, the enemy, having surmounted the hill, were seen advancing towards the English. Somerset and the Earl of Warwick, who happened to be riding together at this moment, instantly perceived their advantage, thanked God for the fortunate event, ordered forward their artillery, and taking a joyful leave of each other, proceeded to their respective charges; the former to the vanward, and the duke to the main battle, where was the king's standard. Warwick immediately arranged his division upon the side of the hill; the protector formed his battle chiefly on the hill, but his extreme right rested on the plain; the rear, under Lord Dacre, was drawn up wholly on the plain; whilst Lord Grey, with the men-at-arms and the mounted carabineers, were stationed at some distance on the extreme left. His orders were to take the enemy in flank, yet he was strictly interdicted from making any attack till the foot of the vanward were engaged with the enemy, and the main battle was near at hand for his support.

Digitized by Google

By the time these arrangements were completed the Scots were considerably advanced, their object being to throw themselves between the English and their fleet; but in accomplishing this, the wing of their rearward, which moved nearest to the Firth, found themselves exposed to the fire of one of the English galleys, which galled them severely, slew the Master of Graham, with some others who were beside him, and threw Argyle's Highlandmen into disorder. Checked in this manner, their army fell back from the ground which was thus exposed, and declining to the southward, took a direct line towards the west end of Faside Hill. Their object was to win the side of the hill, and, availing themselves of the advantage, to attack the enemy from the higher ground; but as soon as the protector perceived this movement, he commanded Lord Grey and Sir Ralph Vane, with the veteran bands of the men-at-arms, called Bulleners,* and the demi-lances under Lord Fitzwaters, to charge the right wing of the Scots, and if they could not break it, at least to keep it in check till their own vanward might advance farther on the hill, and their centre and rear coming up, form a full front against the enemy. This manœuvre, although aware of its perilous nature, was executed by Lord Grey with the utmost readiness and gallantry. Observing the Scottish infantry advancing at so round a pace, that many deemed them to be

* From their having been employed as the garrison at Boulogne.

Digitized by Google

rather cavalry than foot, he waited for a short space, till Lord Warwick was pretty well up with the enemy, and then, commanding the trumpets to sound, charged down the hill at full gallop, right against the left wing of Angus's division. The shock at first was dreadful, but the superiority of infantry over cavalry was soon evinced. The Scottish foot were armed with spears eighteen feet in length, far exceeding that of the lances of the men-at-arms, and they knew well how to avail themselves of this advantage. Angus, on observing the intention of the English, had commanded his men to form in that formidable order which had often effectually resisted the chivalry of England. Nothing could be more simple, but nothing more effective: the soldiers closed inwards, so near as to appear locked together shoulder to shoulder; the front line stooped low and almost knelt, placing the butt-end of their pike against the right foot, grasping it firmly with both hands, and inclining its steel point breast-high against the enemy; the second rank crossed their pikes over their shoulders; the third assumed the same position, and so on to whatever depth the column might be, giving it the appearance of a gigantic hedge-hog covered with an impenetrable skin of steel bristles.* Against such a body, if the

* "So that it were as easy," to use the words of an eye-witness, "for a bare finger to pierce the skin of an angry hedge-hog, as for any one to encounter the brunt of their pikes."

Digitized by Google

men stood firm, the finest cavalry in the world could not make any serious impression. It happened, also, that a broad muddy ditch or slough lay between the English and the Scottish foot, into which the horses plunged up to the counter, and with great difficulty cleared it. Yet, undismayed by these adverse circumstances, Lord Grey, heading his men-at-arms, struggled through, and with his front companies charged full upon the enemy's left. No human force, however, could break the wall against which he had thrown himself; and in an incredibly short time two hundred saddles were emptied, the horses being stabbed in the belly with the spears, and the riders who had fallen speedily despatched by the *whingers*, or short double-edged daggers, which the Scots carried at their girdle. Such was the fate of Shelly, Ratcliff, Clarence, Preston, and other brave and veteran commanders of the Bulleners. Flammock, who carried the English standard, saved the colours, but left the staff in the hands of the enemy. Lord Grey himself was dangerously hurt in the mouth and neck. Many horses, furious from their wounds, and plunging in their agony, carried disorder into their own companies; and such was soon the inextricable confusion into which the whole body of the men-at-arms was thrown, that a portion of them, breaking away, fled through the ranks of their own division, whilst Lord Grey had the greatest difficulty in extricating

Digitized by Google

the rest, and retreating up the hill with their shattered and wounded remains. At this critical moment, had Angus been supported by the rest of the army, or had the Scots possessed any body of men-at-arms, who by a timely charge might have improved their advantage, the English would in all probability have been undone. But the cavalry had been nearly cut to pieces in the action of the day before, and the centre and rear, under the governor and Huntly, were still at a considerable distance; the vanward, therefore, unable to pursue the fugitives, and not choosing to advance against the main body of the enemy till certain of support, halted for a brief space. The op portunity was thus lost, and the Earl of Warwick, aware of the infinite value of a few minutes gained at such a juncture, galloped through the wavering ranks of the advance, re-established their order, disengaged the men-at-arms from the infantry, and rallying them, with the assistance of Sir Ralph Sadler, pushed forward the company of the Spanish carabineers. These fine troops, armed both man and horse in complete mail, galloped up to the brink of the broad ditch, and, coming within half-musket range, discharged their pieces full in the faces of the Scottish infantry. This attack was seconded by Sir Peter Mewtas, who brought up his foot hagbutteers: the archers, now moving rapidly forward, discharged a flight of arrows; and at the same moment the artillery, which had been

Digitized by Google

judiciously placed on the hill, were made to bear upon Angus's division, who, dreading the effect of so complicated an attack, began to fall back, though in good order, to the main battle. At this instant the Highlanders, who, unable to resist their plundering propensities, were dispersed over the field stripping the slain, mistook this retrograde movement for a flight, and seized with a sudden panic, began to run off in all directions. Their terror communicated itself to the burgh troops: these formed a main portion of the centre, and, starting from their ranks, although still a quarter of a mile distant from the enemy, they threw away their weapons and followed the Highlanders. In the midst of this shameful confusion the governor, instead of exerting himself to rally the fugitives, shouted "Treason," a cry which only increased the disorder. The Earl of Warwick meanwhile was coming fast forward, the horsemen once more showed themselves ready to charge, and the English centre and rear hastened on at an accelerated pace. Had the Scottish vanward been certain that support was near at hand, they might, even alone, have withstood this formidable attack; but, deserted by the rest of the army, they did not choose to sacrifice themselves; and the body which so lately had opposed an impenetrable front to the enemy beginning first to undulate to and fro, like a sea agitated by the wind, after a few moments was seen breaking

Digitized by Google

into a thousand fragments, and dispersing in all directions. Everything was now lost: the ground over which the flight lay was as thickly strewed with pikes as a floor with rushes; helmets, bucklers, swords, daggers, and steel caps, lay scattered on every side, cast away by their owners, as impeding their speed; and the chase, beginning at one o'clock, continued till six in the evening with extraordinary slaughter. The English demi-lances and men-at-arms, irritated by their late defeat, hastened after the fugitives with a speed heightened by revenge, and passing across the field of their late action, were doubly exasperated by seeing the bodies of their brave companions, stript by the Highlanders, lying all naked and mangled before their eyes. Crying to one another to remember Peniel Heugh, the spot where Sir Ralph Eure and his company had, in a former year, been cut to pieces by the Earl of Angus, they spurred at the top of their speed after the fugitives, cutting them down on all sides, and admitting none to quarter but those from whom they hoped for a heavy ransom. The Scots fled in three several ways—some straight upon Edinburgh, some along the coast to Leith, but the most part towards Dalkeith—with the object of throwing the morass, which had defended the right of their camp, between them and their pursuers. Yet this proved so ineffectual a security, that, before the chase was ended, fourteen thousand were slain, the river

Digitized by Google

running red with blood, and the ground for five miles in distance and four in breadth being covered, says an eye-witness, as thick with dead bodies as cattle in a well-stocked pasture field. It was recorded, that in Edinburgh alone this day's battle made three hundred and sixty widows. Little pity was shown to the priests, multitudes of whom were slain, and found mingled amongst the dead bodies of the common soldiers, whilst their sacred banner lay trampled under foot and soiled with blood.

The evening was now advancing to night, the pursuit had lasted for five hours, and the protector causing a retreat to be sounded, the army mustered again on the ridge of Edmonstone Edge, beside the Scottish tents, where, joyous at their victory, they gave a long loud shout, which, as they afterwards were told, was so shrill and piercing, that it was heard in the streets of the capital.

This great defeat, named from the adjoining fields the battle of Pinkie, if immediately followed up by Somerset, might have led to results most fatal to Scotland. Had he pursued the fugitive governor to Stirling, where the young queen was kept; made himself master of its castle, which could not have held out long against such a force as he commanded; occupied Edinburgh, seized and fortified the town and harbour of Leith, and after leaving a garrison to defend it, taken his progress through the country,

Digitized by Google

and offered a general protection to the Scots, the consequences must have been eminently hazardous. But, providentially for Scotland, the protector at this moment received information of secret plots against him in England; and he resolved to hurry home, that he might confront and defeat his enemies.

Digitized by Google

THE BATTLE OF HOMILDON HILL.

DURING the reign of king Robert III. (1390–1406,) there was little direct war between Scotland and England; but there were occasional invasions or "raids" into each country, which frequently threatened to result in serious consequences. One of the most famous of these warlike incursions culminated in the battle of Homildon Hill, in 1402. The Earl of Douglas, growing in pride and thirsting for power, crossed the border of Scotland, and entered England at the head of ten thousand men, with banners, and all the usual military display; and confident, in their strength and eager for revenge, pushed on, without meeting an enemy, to the gates of Newcastle. But although Henry was himself personally engaged at the time in his Welsh war, he had left the veteran Earl of Northumberland, and his son, Hotspur, in charge of the Borders; and the Scottish Earl of March, who had renounced his fealty to his sovereign, and become

Digitized by Google

the subject of England, joined the Percies, with his son, Gawin of Dunbar.

Douglas had not only an experience in Scottish war, and an intimate knowledge of the Border country, but had also that bitter spirit of enmity towards the English which made him a formidable enemy. The Scots were allowed to advance without opposition through the heart of Northumberland; for the greater distance they were from home, and the longer time allowed to the English to collect their force, it was evidently the more easy to cut off their retreat, and to fight them at an advantage.

The result showed the correctness of this opinion. The Scottish army, loaded with plunder, confident in their own strength, and secure in the apparent panic of the enemy, retreated slowly and carelessly, and had encamped near Wooler, when they were met by the intelligence that Hotspur, with a strong army, had occupied the pass in their front, and was advancing to attack them. Douglas immediately drew up his force in a deep square upon a neighbouring eminence, called Homildon Hill—an excellent position had his sole object been to repel the attacks of the English cavalry and men-at-arms, but in other respects the worst that could have been chosen, for the bulk of Percy's force consisted of archers; and there were many eminences round Homildon by which it was completely commanded, the distance being within

Digitized by Google

arrow-flight. Had the Scottish knights and squires, and the rest of their light-armed cavalry, who must have composed a body of at least a thousand men, taken possession of the rising ground in advance, they might have charged the English archers before they came within bow-shot, and the subsequent battle would have been reduced to a close-hand encounter, in which the Scots, from the strong ground which they occupied, must have fought to great advantage; but from the mode in which it was occupied by Douglas, who crowded his whole army into one dense column, the position became the most fatal that could have been selected.

The English army now rapidly advanced, and on coming in sight of the Scots, at once occupied the opposite eminence, which, to their surprise, they were permitted to do without a single Scottish knight or horseman leaving their ranks; but at this crisis the characteristic impetuosity of Hotspur, who, at the head of the men-at-arms, proposed instantly to charge the Scots, had nearly thrown away the advantage. March, however, instantly seized his horse's reins and stopt him. His eye had detected, at the first glance, the danger of Douglas's position; he knew from experience the strength of the long-bow of England; and, by his orders, the precedence was given to the archers, who, slowly advancing down the hill, poured their volleys as thick as hail upon the Scots, whilst, to

Digitized by Google

use the words of an ancient manuscript chronicle, they were so closely wedged together, that a breath of air could scarcely penetrate their files, making it impossible for them to wield their weapons. The effects of this were dreadful, for the cloth-yard shafts of England pierced with ease the light armour of the Scots, few of whom were defended by more than a steel-cap and a thin jack or breast-plate, whilst many wore nothing more than the leather acton or quilted coat, which afforded a feeble defence against such deadly missiles. Even the better-tempered armour of the knights was found utterly unequal to resistance, when, owing to the gradual advance of their phalanx, the archers took a nearer and more level aim, whilst the Scottish bowmen drew a wavering and uncertain bow, and did little execution. Numbers of the bravest barons and gentlemen were mortally wounded, and fell down on the spot where they were first drawn up, without the possibility of reaching the enemy; the horses, goaded and maddened by the increasing showers of arrows, reared and plunged, and became altogether unmanageable; whilst the dense masses of the spearmen and naked Galwegians presented the appearance of a huge hedgehog, (I use the expression of a contemporary historian,) bristled over with a thousand shafts, whose feathers were red with blood. This state of things could not long continue.

"My friends," exclaimed Sir John Swinton, "why

Digitized by Google

stand we here to be slain like deer, and marked down by the enemy? Where is our wonted courage? Are we to be still, and have our hands nailed to our lances? Follow me, and let us at least sell our lives as dearly as we can."

Saying this, he couched his spear, and prepared to gallop down the hill; but his career was for a moment interrupted by a singular event. Sir Adam de Gordon, with whom Swinton had long been at deadly feud, threw himself from his horse, and kneeling at his feet, begged his forgiveness, and the honour of being knighted by so brave a leader. Swinton instantly consented; and, after giving him the accolade, tenderly embraced him. The two warriors then remounted, and at the head of their followers, forming a body of a hundred horse, made a desperate attack upon the English, which, had it been followed by a simultaneous charge of the great body of the Scots, might still have retrieved the fortune of the day. But such was now the confusion of the Scottish lines, that Swinton and Gordon were slain, and their men struck down or dispersed before the Earl of Douglas could advance to support them; and when he did so, the English archers, keeping their ranks, fell back upon the cavalry, pouring in volley after volley, as they slowly retreated, and completing the discomfiture of the Scots by an appalling carnage. If we may believe Walsingham, the armour worn by the Earl of

Digitized by Google

Douglas on this fatal day was of the most exquisite workmanship and temper, and cost the artisan who made it three years' labour; yet he was wounded in five places, and made prisoner along with Lord Murdoch Stewart, and the Earls of Moray and Angus. In a short time the Scottish army was utterly routed; and the archers, to whom the whole honour of the day belonged, rushing in with their knives and short swords, made prisoners of almost every person of rank or station.

The number of the slain, however, was very great; and multitudes of the fugitives—it is said nearly fifteen hundred—were drowned in an attempt to ford the Tweed. Amongst those who fell, besides Swinton and Gordon, were Sir John Levingston of Callander, Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, Sir Roger Gordon, Sir Walter Scott, and Sir Walter Sinclair, with many other knights and esquires, whose followers mostly perished with their masters. Besides the leaders, Douglas and Lord Murdoch, eighty knights were taken prisoners, and a crowd of esquires and pages, whose names and numbers are not ascertained.

The fatal result of this day completely proved the dreadful power of the English bowmen; for there is not a doubt that the battle was gained by the archers. Walsingham even goes so far as to say that neither earl, knight, nor squire, ever handled their weapons, or

Digitized by Google

came into action, but remained idle spectators of the total destruction of the Scottish host; nor does there seem any good reason to question the correctness of this fact, although, after the Scots were broken, the English knights and horsemen joined in the pursuit. It was in every way a most decisive and bloody defeat, occasioned by the military incapacity of Douglas, whose pride was probably too great to take advice, and his judgment and experience in war too confined to render it unnecessary.

The battle was fought on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, being the 14th September, in the year 1402; and the moment that the news of the defeat was carried to Westminster, the King of England directed his letters to the Earl of Northumberland, with his son Henry Percy, and also to the Earl of March, commanding them, for certain urgent causes, not to admit to ransom any of their Scottish prisoners, of whatever rank or station, or to suffer them to be at liberty under any parole or pretext, until they should receive further instructions upon the subject. To this order, which was highly displeasing to the pride of the Percies, as it went to deprive them of an acknowledged feudal right which belonged to the simplest esquire, the monarch subjoined his pious thanks to God for so signal a victory, and to his faithful barons for their bravery and success; but he commanded them to notify his orders regarding the prisoners to all who

Digitized by Google

had fought at Homildon, concluding with an assurance that he had no intention of ultimately depriving any of his liege subjects of their undoubted rights in the persons and property of their prisoners; a declaration which would not be readily believed. If Henry thus defeated the objects which the victory might have secured him by his precipitancy and imprudence, Hotspur stained it by an act of cruelty and injustice. Teviotdale, it may perhaps be remembered, after having remained in the partial possession of the English for a long period, under Edward III., had at last been entirely wrested from them by the bravery of the Douglases; and as the Percies had obtained large grants of land in this district, upon which many fierce contests had taken place, their final expulsion from the country they called their own was peculiarly irritating. It happened that amongst the prisoners was Sir William Stewart of Forrest, a knight of Teviotdale, who was a boy at the time the district "was Anglicised," and, like many others, had been compelled to embrace a virtual allegiance to England, by a necessity which he had neither the power nor the understanding to resist. On the miserable pretence that he had forfeited his allegiance, Hotspur accused him of treason, and had him tried by a jury; but the case was so palpably absurd and tyrannical, that he was acquitted. Percy, in great wrath, impannelled a second jury, and a second ver-

Digitized by Google

dict of acquittal showed their sense and firmness; but the fierce obstinacy of feudal revenge was not to be so baffled, and these were not the days when the laws could check its violence. A third jury was summoned, packed, and overawed, and their sentence condemned Sir William Stewart to the cruel and complicated death of a traitor. It was instantly executed; and his quarters, with those of his squire, Thomas Ker, who suffered along with him, were placed on the gates of York; the same gates upon which, within a year, were exposed the mangled remains of Percy himself. The avidity with which Hotspur seems to have thirsted for the blood of this unhappy youth is only to be accounted for on the supposition of some deadly feud between the families; for on no other occasion did this celebrated soldier show himself naturally cruel, or unnecessarily severe.

Digitized by Google

THE BATTLE OF LANGSIDE.

VERY shortly after the strange and suspicious death of her husband, Lord Darnley, Mary Queen of Scots made a step, the imprudence of which may be said to be the origin of that long series of misfortunes which befell her, and which finally consummated in her execution. She married the Earl of Bothwell, a man who was openly suspected to be a participator in the murder of Darnley. Bothwell had, it is true, been absolved for the crime on trial, but that he was really guilty was the popular belief; and although it was publicly given out that he had secured possession of the queen's person by forcible means, it still remains a mystery whether she was compelled to yield to force, or only pretended to do so. Nothing could excuse the unbecoming haste of the marriage taking place as it did, three months and five days after the death of Darnley; and among other things, it was even said that she gave means and aid to enable

Digitized by Google

Bothwell to obtain a divorce from his wife that he might be free to marry her.

Immediately after the marriage, on a pretext of complicity in the murder of Darnley, Queen Mary was imprisoned in the castle of Lochleven, a gloomy stronghold on a loch in Kinross-shire, by her natural brother James Stewart the earl of Moray, who had long aimed at securing possession of the Scottish crown. He resolved to take advantage of the queen's imprisonment and compel her to resign her crown into his hands, on the plea that he would govern the country as regent during the minority of her infant son. Accordingly, with this object in view, the Earl of Moray, on the 15th of August 1567, in company with the Earls of Morton, Athole, and Lord Lindsay, visited the queen in her prison. It was a remarkable and affecting interview. Mary received them with tears, and passionately complained of her wrongs. Then taking Moray aside, before supper, she eagerly questioned him as to the intentions of the lords, and in vain endeavoured to fathom his own. Contrary to his usual open and frank demeanour, he was gloomy, silent, and reserved. When the bitter meal had past, she again spoke to him in private; and, torn by fear and suspense, pathetically described her sufferings. He was her brother, she said, her only friend, he must know her fate, for he was all powerful with her enemies; would he now withhold

Digitized by Google

his counsel and assistance in this extremity of her sorrow? What was she to look for? She knew some thirsted for her blood. In the end, she implored him to keep her no longer in doubt, but to speak out; and, even were it to criminate her, to use all freedom and plainness.

Thus urged, Moray, without mitigation or disguise, laid before her the whole history of her misgovernment; using a severity of language, and earnestness of rebuke, more suited (to use a phrase of Throckmorton's) to a ghostly confessor than a counsellor; her ill-advised marriage with Darnley, her hasty love, her sudden estrangement, the dark scene of his murder, the manifest guilt of Bothwell, his pretended trial, his unjust acquittal, her infatuated passion, her shameless marriage, her obstinate adherence to the murderer, the hatred of her subjects, her capture, her imprisonment, the allegations of the lords that they could convict her by her own letters of being accessory to the murder, their determination to bring her to a public trial, and to put her to an ignominious death; all these points were insisted on, with a severity and plainness to which the queen had seldom been accustomed, and the dreadful picture plunged the unhappy sufferer into an agony of despair. Throughout the dismal recital, she interrupted him by extenuations, apologies, confessions, and sometimes by denials. The conversation had been prolonged till

Digitized by Google

past midnight; and Mary, weeping and clinging to the hope of life, again and again implored her brother's protection: but Moray was unmoved, or, at least, he judged it best to seem so, and retired to his chamber, bidding her seek her chief refuge in the mercy of God.

Next morning, at an early hour, she sent for him, and perceiving the impression he had made, he assumed a milder mood, threw in some words of consolation, and assured her that, whatever might be the conduct of others, to save her life he was ready to sacrifice his own; but, unfortunately, the decision lay not with him alone, but with the lords, the Church, and the people. Much also depended on herself; if she attempted an escape, intrigued to bring in the French or the English, and thus disturb the quiet government of her son, or continued in her inordinate affection to Bothwell, she need not expect to live; if she deplored her past sins, showed an abhorrence for the murder of her husband, and repented her former life with Bothwell, then might he hold out great hope that those in whose power she now lay would spare her life. As to her liberty he said, in conclusion, that was at present out of the question. He had, as yet, only a single voice in the state, like other nobles; it was therefore not in his power to procure it, nor would it be for her interest at this moment to desire it. It was Mary's weakness (in the present case we can

Digitized by Google

hardly call it such) to be hurried away by impulses. She had passed the night under the dreadful conviction that her fate was decided, that she had but a short time to live. She now discerned a gleam of hope, and, starting from her seat, took Moray in her arms, and urged him to accept the regency, as the best and safest course for herself, her son, and her kingdom. He declined it, she again pressed it on him; he gave his reasons against undertaking so arduous a task. She replied, and insisted, that the service of his sovereign and his country ought to outweigh every selfish motive. He at last assented; the queen then suggested that his first efforts should be directed to get all the forts into his hands, and requested him to take her jewels and other articles of value, into his custody, as her only way of preserving them. On taking leave, she embraced and kissed him with tears, and sent by him her blessing to her son. Moray then turned to Lindsay, Ruthven, and Lochleven, and recommending them to treat their royal mistress with all gentleness, left the castle.

After her interview with Moray, during which he successfully accomplished the object of his visit, the captive queen had exerted all those powers of fascination, which she so remarkably possessed, to gain upon the goodwill of her keepers. The severe temper of the regent's mother, the lady of the castle, had yielded to their influence; and her son, George Douglas, the

Digitized by Google

younger brother of Lochleven, smitten by her beauty, and flattered by her caresses, enthusiastically devoted himself to her interest. It was even asserted that he had aspired to her hand, that his mother talked of a divorce from Bothwell, and that Mary, never insensible to admiration, and solicitous to secure his services, did not check his hopes. However this may be, Douglas for some time had bent his whole mind to the enterprise, and on one occasion, a little before this, had nearly succeeded; but the queen, who had assumed the dress of a laundress, was detected by the extraordinary whiteness of her hands, and carried back, in the boat which she had entered, to her prison.

This discovery had nearly ruined all, for Douglas was dismissed from the castle, and Mary more strictly watched; but nothing could discourage her own enterprise, or the zeal of her servant. He communicated with Lord Seton and the Hamiltons; he carried on a secret correspondence with the queen; he secured the services of a page who waited on his mother, called little Douglas, and by his assistance at length affected his purpose. On the evening of the 2d of May, this youth, in placing a plate before the castellan, contrived to drop his napkin over the key of the gate of the castle, which, for security, was always placed beside him when at supper, and carried it off unperceived: he hastened to the queen, and hurrying down to the outer gate, they threw themselves into the little

Digitized by Google

boat which lay there for the service of the garrison. At that moment Lord Seton and some of her friends were intently observing the castle from their concealment on a neighbouring hill; a party waited in the village below, while, nearer still, a man lay watching on the brink of the lake. They could see a female figure, with two attendants, glide swiftly from the outer gate. It was Mary herself, who, breathless with delight and anxiety, sprung into the boat, holding a little girl, one of her maidens, by the hand; while the page, by locking the gate behind them prevented immediate pursuit. In a moment her white veil with its broad red fringe, (the concerted signal of success,) was seen glancing in the sun; the sign was recognised and communicated; the little boat, rowed by the page and the queen herself, touched the shore; and Mary, springing out with the lightness of recovered freedom, was received first by George Douglas, and almost instantly after by Lord Seton and his friends. Throwing herself on horseback, she rode at full speed to the Ferry, crossed the Firth, and galloped to Niddry Castle, having been met on the road by Lord Claud Hamilton, with fifty horse. Here she took a few hours' rest, wrote a hurried despatch to France, despatched Hepburn of Riccarton to Dunbar, with the hope that the castle would be delivered to her, and commanded him to proceed afterwards to Denmark, and carry to his master, Bothwell, the news of her deliverance.

Digitized by Google

Then, again taking horse, she galloped to Hamilton where she deemed herself in safety.

The news of her escape flew rapidly through the kingdom, and was received with joy by a large portion of her nobility, who crowded round her with devoted offers of homage and support. The Earls of Argyle, Cassillis, Eglinton, and Rothes; the Lords Somerville, Yester, Livingston, Herries, Fleming, Ross, Borthwick, and many other barons of power and note crowded to Hamilton. Orders were sent by them to put their vassals and followers in instant motion, and Mary soon saw herself at the head of six thousand men.

She now assembled her Council, declared to them that her demission of the government, and consent to the coronation of her son, had been extorted by the imminent fear of death, and appealed for the truth of the statement to Robert Melvil, who stood beside her and solemnly confirmed it. An act of Council was then passed, declaring all the late proceedings by which Moray had become regent treasonable and of none effect; and a bond drawn up by the nobility for the defence of their sovereign, and her restitution to her crown and kingdom, which in the enthusiasm of the moment, was signed by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, twelve abbots and priors, and nearly one hundred barons. But the queen, though encouraged by this burst of loyalty, felt a desire to avoid

Digitized by Google

the misery of a civil contest, and in this spirit sent a message to Moray, with offers of reconciliation and forgiveness.

The regent was in Glasgow, a city not eight miles from Mary's camp at Hamilton, engaged in public business, and attended only by the officers of the law and his personal suite, when almost at the same instant he received news of the queen's escape, and her overtures for a negotiation. It was a trying crisis—one of those moments in the life of a public man which test his judgment and his courage. Already the intelligence, though but a few hours old, had produced an unfavourable effect upon his party. Some openly deserted, and sought the queen's camp; others silently stole away; many wavered; and not a few, whilst they preserved the show of fidelity, secretly made preparations for joining the enemy.

Under these difficult circumstances Moray exhibited that rapid decision and clearness of judgment which mark a great man. When counselled to retire, he instantly rejected the advice.

"Retreat," said he, "must not for a moment be contemplated. It is certain ruin; it will be construed into flight, and every hour's delay will strengthen the queen and discourage our adherents. Our only chance is in an instantaneous attack before Huntly, Ogilvy, and the northern men, have joined the royal force."

Pretending, however, to deliberate upon the offers

Digitized by Google

of negotiation, he gained a brief respite: this he used to publish a proclamation, in which he declared his determination to support the king's government; and sending information to the Merse, Lothian, and Stirlingshire, was rapidly joined by a considerable body of his friends. Morton, Glencairn, Lennox, and Semple lost no time, but marshalled their strength, and advanced by forced marches to Glasgow: Mar despatched reinforcements and cannon from Stirling; Kirkaldy of Grange, whose veteran experience in military affairs was of infinite value at such a moment, took the command of the horse; and Moray had the good sense to intrust to him the general arrangements for the approaching battle. Hume, also a skilful soldier, not only foiled Hepburn of Riccarton in his attempt to seize Dunbar for the queen, but kept the Mersemen from declaring for her, and soon joined the regent with six hundred men, whilst Edinburgh beat up for recruits, and sent a small force of hagbutteers. The effects which so invariably follow decision and confidence were soon apparent, and in ten days Moray commanded an army of four thousand men.

Amid these preparations Mary sent her servant, John Beaton, to England and the French court, soliciting support. In return, the English queen resolved to despatch Dr Leighton into Scotland with her warm congratulations, and an assurance that if her sister

Digitized by Google

would submit the decision of her affairs to his royal mistress, and abstain from calling in any foreign aid, she would speedily either persuade or compel her subjects to acknowledge her authority. It happened, too, that shortly previous to her escape, Monsieur de Beaumont, an ambassador from Henry, had arrived from France to solicit, as he affirmed, an interview with the captive princess, which had been positively refused. Some suspected that he came to urge the expediency of a divorce from Bothwell, and a marriage between Mary and the Lord of Arbroath, second son of the Duke of Chastelherault. Others affirmed that, like De Lignerolles, his secret instructions were more favourable to the regent than the queen; but however this may be, he now resorted to the camp at Hamilton, and apparently exerted himself to procure a reconciliation between the two factions.

We have already seen that this was agreeable to Mary's own wishes. Her inclination from the first had been to avoid a battle, to retire to Dumbarton, a fortress which had been all along kept for her by Lord Fleming, and to regain by degrees her influence over her nobility and her people. In this wise and humane policy she was opposed by the ambition and fierce impatience of the Hamiltons, who, seeing themselves the strongest party, deemed the moment favourable to crush Moray for ever, and to obtain an ascendency over the queen and the government.

Digitized by Google

So far, however, Mary's influence prevailed, that they consented to march from Hamilton to Dumbarton; and Moray, congratulating himself upon their resolution, immediately drew out his little army on the Burghmuir of Glasgow, resolved to watch their movements, and, if possible, bring them to an engagement. For this purpose Grange had previously examined the ground, and the moment he became aware that the queen's army kept the south side of the river, the regent's camp being on the opposite bank, he mounted a hagbutteer behind each of his horsemen, rapidly forded the Clyde, and placed them at the village of Langside, amongst some cottages, hedges, and little yards or gardens which skirted each side of a narrow lane, through which the queen's troops must defile.

Whilst this manœuvre was successfully performing, Moray, who led the main battle, and Morton, who commanded the vanguard or advance, crossed the river by a neighbouring bridge and drew up their men; a movement which was scarcely completed when the queen's vanguard, two thousand strong, and commanded by Lord Claud Hamilton, attempting to carry the lane, was received by a close and deadly fire from the hagbutteers in the hedges and cottage gardens. This killed many, drove them back, and threw their ranks into confusion; but, confident in their numbers, they pressed forward up the steep of

Digitized by Google

the hill, so that the men were already exhausted when they suddenly found themselves encountered by Moray's advance, which was well breathed and in firm order. It was composed of the flower of the Border pikemen. Morton, who led it, with Hume, Ker of Cessford, and the barons of the Merse, all fought on foot; and when the first charge took place, Grange's clear voice was heard above the din of battle, calling to them to keep their pikes shouldered till the enemy had levelled theirs, and then to push on. They obeyed him, and a severe conflict took place. It was here only that there was hard fighting; and Sir James Melvil, who was present, describes the long pikes as so closely crossed and interlaced, that, when the soldiers behind discharged their pistols, and threw them or the staves of their shattered weapons in the faces of their enemies, they never reached the ground, but remained lying on the spears.

For some time the conflict was doubtful, till Grange, perceiving the right wing of the regent's advance (consisting of the Renfrewshire barons) beginning to give way, galloped to the main battle, and brought Lindsay, Lochleven, Sir James Balfour, and their followers to reinforce the weak point. This they did effectually, and their attack was so furious that it broke the queen's ranks and threw all into confusion. Moray, who had hitherto stood on the defensive, contenting himself with repulsing the

Digitized by Google

enemy's cavalry, which was far superior in numbers and equipment to his own, now seized the moment to charge with the main battle, and the flight of the queen's army became universal. At this instant, too, the chief of the Macfarlanes, and two hundred of his Highlanders, broke in upon the scattered fragments of the army with the leaps and yells peculiar to their mode of fighting, and the pursuit would have been sanguinary but for the generous exertions of the regent, who called out to save the fugitives, and employed his cavalry, with Grange who commanded them, not as instruments of slaughter but of mercy. This decisive battle lasted only three quarters of an hour. On the queen's side there were but three hundred slain—some accounts say only half that number. On the regent's only a single soldier fell. Ten pieces of brass cannon were taken, and many prisoners of note. Amongst the rest, the Lords Seton and Ross; the masters or eldest sons of the Earls of Eglinton and Cassillis; the Sheriff of Ayr; the Sheriff of Linlithgow, a Hamilton, who bore their standard in the vanguard; the Lairds of Preston, Innerwick, Pitmilly, Balwearie, Boyne, and Trabrown; Robert Melvil and Andrew Melvil; two sons of the Bishop of St Andrews, and a son of the Abbot of Kilwinning. It was reported that Argyle was made prisoner, but purposely suffered to escape. On the regent's side, Hume, Ochiltree, and Andrew Car of Faudonside,

Digitized by Google

were severely wounded. Previous to the conflict Mary had taken her station upon an eminence half a mile distant, which commanded a view of the field. She was surrounded by a small suite, and watched the vicissitudes of the fight with breathless eagerness and hope. At last, when the charge of Moray took place, witnessing the total dispersion of her army, she fled in great terror and at full speed in the direction of Dumfries; nor did she venture to draw bridle till she found herself in the abbey of Dundrennan, sixty miles from the field.

On arriving at this place, which was on the confines of England, the queen declared her intention of retreating into that country and throwing herself upon the protection of Elizabeth. It was a hasty and fatal resolution, adopted against the advice of those faithful servants who had followed her in her flight, and must have been dictated more by the terror of her own subjects than by any well-grounded confidence in the character of Elizabeth. Lord Herries, who accompanied her, had taken the precaution of writing to Lowther, the deputy-governor of Carlisle, desiring to know whether his royal mistress might come safely to that city; but such was her impatience, that before any answer could be returned she had taken a boat and passed over in her riding-dress, and soiled with travel, to Workington, in Cumberland. Here she was recognised by the gentlemen of the

Digitized by Google

country, who conveyed her to Cockermouth, from which Lowther conducted her with all respect and honour to Carlisle. Amongst her attendants were the Lords Herries, Fleming, and Livingston.

While still at Workington, the Queen of Scots had written to Elizabeth describing the wrongs she had endured from her rebellious subjects, alluding to the recent defeat at Langside, and expressing her confident hope that the queen would protect and assist her against her enemies. She concluded with these pathetic words.

"It is my earnest request that your majesty will send for me as soon as possible, for my condition is pitiable, not to say for a queen, but even for a simple gentlewoman. I have no other dress than that in which I escaped from the field; my first day's ride was sixty miles across the country, and I have not since dared to travel except by night."

On receiving this letter, Elizabeth felt that Mary was at last in her power, and she did not hesitate to avail herself of the fatal error which had been committed. Her first orders to the sheriffs on the 19th of May sufficiently show this. She commanded them to treat the Scottish queen and her suite with honour and respect, but to keep a strict watch, and prevent all escape. At the same time, Lady Scrope, sister to the Duke of Norfolk, was sent to wait upon her, and Sir Francis Knollys arrived with letters of condol-

Digitized by Google

ence; but impatient under these formalities, and anxious for a personal interview, Mary addressed a second letter to Elizabeth, in which she entreated that, as her affairs were urgent, she might be permitted instantly to see the queen, to vindicate herself from the false aspersions which had been cast upon her by her ungrateful subjects, and to dispel the doubts which she understood were entertained. She had sent up Lord Herries, she said, to communicate with her sister, and Lord Fleming to carry a message to France; but she entreated, if any resolution had been formed against assisting her, (a decision which must surely come from others, not from Elizabeth's own heart,) leave might be given her as freely to depart from her dominions as she had freely entered them. Nothing could so much injure her cause as delay, and already had she been detained in the state of a prisoner for fifteen days—a proceeding which, to speak frankly, she found somewhat hard and strange. In conclusion, she reminded Elizabeth of some circumstances connected with the ring which she now sent her. It bore the emblem of a heart, and had probably been a gift of the English queen.

"Remember," said she, "I have kept my promise. I have sent you my heart in the ring, and now I have brought to you both heart and body, to knit more firmly the tie that binds us together."

Meanwhile Moray lost no time in following up the

Digitized by Google

advantage which he had gained, and after the retreat of the queen, having made an expedition northward, at the head of a large force, and for the moment put down opposition, he returned to the capital, to let loose the vengeance of the laws against those who had resisted his government. Notwithstanding the accusations of his enemies, no instance of cruelty or revenge can be proved against him: whether it was that his nature was really an enemy to blood, or that he found fines and forfeitures a more effectual way of destroying his opponents and enriching his friends. These occupations at home, however, did not prevent his cares for his safety on the side of England. As soon as he heard of Mary's retreat to Carlisle, and her offer to vindicate herself before Elizabeth, he sent up his secretary or confidential servant, Wood, to express his readiness instantly to appear in person with the Earl of Morton to answer any charges brought against him; to produce evidence to justify his conduct and that of his companions, and, as Drury expresses it, to enter himself prisoner in the Tower of London if he did not prove her guilty in the death of the king her husband.*

* It is beyond the scope of the present volume to enter into details of what followed; and the reader who desires to be acquainted more fully with this interesting episode in Scottish history is referred to the author's "History of Scotland."

Digitized by Google

THE SIEGE OF EDINBURGH.

THE death of the Earl of Mar at Stirling on the 28th of October 1572, over which there hung some suspicion of poison, threw Henry Killigrew, the English ambassador at Edinburgh, into much perplexity; and Burghley, who had received the news as early as the 3d of November, wrote on that day to Walsingham, the English ambassador at the French court, in much anxiety.

"The 28th of the last," said he, "the good regent of Scotland is dead, as I think by a natural sickness, and yet the certainty is not known. This will make our causes the worse in Scotland, for I fear the conveyance away of the king; and yet there is care taken for his surety; but I can almost hope for no good, seeing our evils fall by heaps, and why the heaps fall not upon ourselves personally, I see no cause to the let thereof in ourselves. God be merciful to us." . . .

Digitized by Google

Queen Elizabeth, who felt the importance of the event, and dreaded the success of French money and intrigues in Scotland, lost not a moment in taking measures to preserve her party. She wrote to the Countess of Mar, recommending her to watch over the safety of the young prince, her dear relative, in whose welfare she took the deepest interest; and she sent a flattering letter to the Earl of Morton, in which, with unusual condescension, she addressed him as if already regent, calling him her well-beloved cousin, commending the wisdom with which he had governed himself in times past, in seasons of great difficulty, and expressing her hope that he and the nobility would take measures for the safety of the young king and the repose of the realm. For more particulars she referred him to Killigrew, her ambassador; and alluding to the necessity of appointing a new regent, trusted that the election would not disturb the quiet of the country.

These were politic steps, as Morton was undoubtedly at this time the most able and powerful of the nobility. Even under Mar he had regulated every public measure; and when it was certain that the regent was on his death-bed, the whole administration of affairs seems naturally to have devolved on him. He was supported by the great majority of the nobles, by the influential party of the Church, and by the friendship of England. Against such influence the

Digitized by Google

Castilians* and their friends could do little; and after a feeble opposition, he was chosen regent in a parliament held at Edinburgh on the 24th of November 1572, and proclaimed next day with the usual solemnity.

At this parliament Elizabeth's letters to the Scottish nobility were publicly read; and although these were not so decided in their language as her partisans had desired, there can be little doubt that the knowledge of her favour to Morton produced the greatest influence. On informing his royal mistress, and her minister Burghley, of the late events, Killigrew earnestly advised some more effectual assistance to be sent to the new regent. He had in vain endeavoured to induce the two factions to refer their controversies to Elizabeth. The Castilians were still confident in the strength of their fortress, and looked to speedy aid from France; Morton, on the other hand, although he admitted the desirableness of peace, had invariably asserted that to storm the castle and utterly subdue the king's enemies would be the only means to establish a firm government, and restore security alike to Scotland and England. But it was evident that this could not be done without some effectual assistance. The regent and the nobles were too poor to maintain any sufficient body of troops on

* Kirkaldy of Grange and the queen's party were so designated.

Digitized by Google

their own resources, and the danger seemed to be, that if not supported by Elizabeth, they would look to France.

"This regent," said Killigrew, in his letter to Burghley, "is a shrewd fellow; and I fear little Douglas be not come home out of France without some offers to him among others; howbeit, hitherto, I can perceive nothing at all, for he assureth me still to run the course of England as much as ever regent did. Notwithstanding I see not how he can make war till the parliament be ended, though he had aid of money, and that for two reasons: the one, the parliament is appointed in this town, which cannot well be holden, because of the castle, if it were war, and the parliament must of necessity be holden for many weighty reasons; the other is the regent's indisposition, as he is not likely to travel for a month or two, but rather to keep his bed or chamber under the surgeon's care, for a disease that hath much troubled him this five or six years."

A few days after the despatch of this letter, Killigrew made a rapid journey to Berwick to hold a conference with Sir William Drury on Scottish matters, and obtain his advice and assistance. He was recalled suddenly, however, to Edinburgh, by a report of Morton's extreme danger, but found him much recovered, and soon after had the satisfaction of receiving an assurance from England, that the queen had determined to

Digitized by Google

give effective support to the new regent, both in money and troops. Of the money, part was instantly paid down; and, by Elizabeth's directions, two skilful engineers, Johnson and Fleming, repaired to Edinburgh and examined the strength of the castle. They reported that, with a proper force and battering trains, it might be taken in twenty days; and it was resolved, as soon as the season of the year permitted, to begin the siege.

It was in the midst of these transactions, and on the very day on which Morton was chosen regent, that the celebrated reformer, Knox, died, in his house at Edinburgh. He was scarcely to be called an aged man, not having completed his sixty-seventh year; but his life had been an incessant scene of theological and political warfare, and his ardent and restless intellect had worn out a frame which at no period had been a strong one.

There is perhaps no juster test of a great man than the impression which he has left, or the changes he has wrought upon his age; and, under this view, none is more entitled to this appellation than John Knox, who has been deservedly regarded as the father of the Reformation in Scotland. The history of his life is, indeed, little else than the history of a great religious revolution; and none can deny him the praise of courage, integrity, and indefatigable exertion, in proclaiming that system of truth which he believed to be

Digitized by Google

founded upon the Word of God. To this he was faithful to the last; and although it appears to me that on many occasions he acted upon the principle (so manifestly erroneous and antichristian) that the end justified the means, on no one occasion do we find him influenced by selfish or venal motives. In this respect he stands alone, and pre-eminent over all men with whom he laboured. To extirpate a system which in its every part he believed to be false and idolatrous, and to replace it by another of which he was as firmly persuaded that it was the work of God, seems to have been the master passion of his mind. In the accomplishment of this, none who has studied the history of the times, or his own writings, will deny that he was often fierce, unrelenting, and unscrupulous; but he was also disinterested, upright, and sincere. He neither feared nor flattered the great; the pomp of the mitre, or the revenues of the wealthiest diocese, had no attractions in his eyes; and there cannot be a doubt of his sincerity, when, in his last message to his old and long-tried friend, Lord Burghley, he assured him that he counted it higher honour to have been made the instrument that the gospel was simply and truly preached in his native country than to have been the highest prelate in England.

During his last illness his time was wholly occupied in offices of devotion, and in receiving the visits of a few religious friends, who affectionately assisted his family

Digitized by Google

in the attendance which his feeble and helpless condition required. A few days before his death, he sent for Mr David Lindsay, Mr James Lawson, and the elders and deacons of the church, and raising himself in his bed, addressed them in these solemn words :—

"The time is approaching for which I have long thirsted, wherein I shall be relieved of all cares, and be with my Saviour Christ for ever. And now God is my witness, whom I have served with my spirit in the gospel of His Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the gospel; and that the end I proposed in all my preaching was to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the weak, to comfort the consciences of those who were humbled under the sense of their sins; and bear down, with the threatenings of God's judgments, such as were proud and rebellious. I am not ignorant that many have blamed, and yet do blame, my too great rigour and severity; but God knows that in my heart I never hated the persons of those against whom I thundered God's judgments. I did only hate their sins, and laboured at all my power to gain them to Christ. That I forbore none of whatsoever condition, I did it out of the fear of my God, who had placed me in the function of the ministry, and I knew would bring me to an account. Now, brethren, for yourselves, I have no more to say, but that you take heed to the flock over whom God hath placed you overseers, and whom He hath re-

Digitized by Google

deemed by the blood of His only-begotten Son. And you, Mr Lawson, [this was his successor,] fight a good fight. Do the work of the Lord with courage and with a willing mind; and God from above bless you and the church whereof you have the charge: against it, so long as it continueth in the doctrine of the truth, the gates of hell shall not prevail."

During his illness he continued to exhibit all his wonted interest in public affairs, often bewailed the defection of Kirkaldy of Grange, one of his oldest friends, and sent a message to him, which at the time was regarded as almost prophetic.

"Go," said he, addressing Lindsay, the minister of Leith, "to yonder man in the castle, whom you know I have loved so dearly, and tell him that I have sent you yet once more to warn him, in the name of God, to leave that evil cause. . . . Neither the craggy rock in which he miserably confides, nor the carnal prudence of that man [meaning the Secretary Lethington] whom he esteems a demi-god, nor the assistance of strangers, shall preserve him; but he shall be disgracefully dragged from his nest to punishment, and hung on a gallows against the face of the sun, unless he speedily amend his life, and flee to the mercy of God."

It appears to me that, in this and other similar predictions, the dying Reformer, who was not only intimately acquainted with, but personally engaged in,

Digitized by Google

the secret correspondence between his party and England, availed himself of this knowledge to fulminate his threats and warnings, which he knew the advance of the English army was so soon likely to fulfil.

During this time his weakness rapidly increased, and on Friday the 21st of November he desired his coffin to be made. The succeeding Saturday and Sunday were spent by him almost uninterruptedly in meditation and prayer, in pious ejaculations, and earnest advices addressed to his family and friends. On Monday the 24th these sacred exercises were resumed till he was exhausted, and fell into a slumber, from which he awoke to have the evening prayers read to him. "About eleven o'clock he gave a deep sigh, and said, 'Now, it is come;' upon which, Richard Bannatyne, his faithful friend and secretary, drew near, and desired him to think of those comfortable promises of our Saviour Christ which he had so often declared to others; and perceiving that he was speechless, requested him to give them a sign that he heard them, and died in peace. Upon this he lifted up one of his hands, and sighing twice, expired without a struggle."

The Reformer was twice married. By his first wife, Mrs Marjory Bowes, he left two sons, Nathanael and Eleazer, who were educated in England, and both died without issue: it is remarkable that Eleazer

Digitized by Google

entered the English Church. By his second marriage, with Margaret Stewart, the daughter of Lord Ochiltree, he left three daughters, Martha, Margaret, and Elizabeth, all of whom married, but the research of his able biographer has not detected any descendants.

The death of Knox was followed by the complete recovery of Morton and the renewal of the war, after a vain attempt to prolong the truce. But although hostilities recommenced, a parliament assembled in the capital, the house where it met being protected from the fire of the castle by a bulwark; and in this, after the election of the regent had been confirmed by the three estates, all measures adopted since the coronation of the young king were ratified, and every proceeding that had been conducted in the name of the captive queen declared invalid and treasonable. Measures, also, were taken to urge forward a reconciliation between the regent and such of the nobility as had not yet acceded to his government. Of these the greatest were the Duke of Chastelherault, the whole of the Hamiltons, Argyle, Huntly, and his gallant brother, Sir Adam Gordon, who still maintained his ascendency in the north. With a view to facilitate an accommodation, it was secretly resolved that for the present no inquiry into the murder of the late king should take place, nor any prosecution be instituted against such persons as were suspected of

Digitized by Google

this crime. The regent was also empowered to pardon all persons accessory to the death of the Earl of Lennox.

The object of all this was quite apparent. Morton himself, Huntly, Argyle, and Sir James Balfour, (who had lately deserted his friends in the castle,) were all of them concerned in the murder of Darnley; whilst the assassination of Lennox, the late regent, was as certainly the work of the Hamiltons. Any resolution to prosecute the perpetrators of either crime must have at once put an end to the hopes of a reconciliation, and it was determined for the present to say and do nothing upon either subject.

During the first sitting of the parliament Killigrew was absent at Berwick, whither he had gone for the purpose of consulting with Sir William Drury and expediting the preparations for the approaching siege of the castle. Before his departure, however, he had a meeting with Nicholas Elphinston on the "great matter," or, to speak more plainly, the secret project for having Mary executed,—a subject which, although interrupted by Mar's decease, appears to have been resumed on the election of Morton. It seemed, however, that this dark design of Elizabeth, by which she hoped to rid herself of her enemy without her hand appearing in the transaction, was invariably destined to be thwarted. We have just seen that, for the security of Huntly, Argyle, and the regent himself,

Digitized by Google

it had been resolved to accuse no person of the murder, and the same prudent considerations made it expedient, at this moment, to say and do nothing against the queen. In a letter addressed at this time by Elphinston to Killigrew, this is clearly explained. "The other matter," said he, "I doubt not, you know perfectly well, cannot nor may not at this time be touched, because presently the murder may not be spoken of, seeing some suspected thereof to be in terms of appointment, as I shall at meeting cause you more clearly to understand; but of this matter I trust hereafter shortly to see a good beginning."

In this parliament a conference took place between the Kirk and certain commissioners appointed by the three estates, in which an important ecclesiastical measure was carried. This was the confirmation of that order for the election of bishops, which had been drawn up in the Book of Discipline, devised at Leith many years before. The change amounted to nothing less than the establishment of Episcopacy in the Scottish Church. It was decided that the title and office of archbishop and bishop should be continued as in the time which preceded the Reformation, and that a spiritual jurisdiction should be exercised by the bishops in their respective dioceses. It was determined that all abbots, priors, and other inferior prelates who were presented to benefices, should be tried by the bishop, or superintendent of

Digitized by Google

the diocese, concerning their fitness to represent the Church in parliament, and that to such bishoprics as were presently void, or which should become vacant, the king and regent should take care to recommend qualified persons, whose election should be made by the chapters of their cathedral churches. It was also ordered that all benefices with cure under prelacies should be disposed of to ministers, who should receive ordination from the bishop of the diocese, upon their taking an oath to recognise the authority of the king, and to pay canonical obedience to their ordinary.

In the midst of these proceedings Killigrew returned to Edinburgh, and on the succeeding day was admitted to an audience of the parliament. The message which he delivered, and the assurances he conveyed of the determination of his royal mistress to protect the young king and support the government of the regent, produced an immediate effect; and a convention for a general pacification was soon after held at Perth, between commissioners appointed by the regent on the one side, and Huntly and the Lord of Arbroath, as the representative of the Duke of Chastelherault, on the other. It was attended by the English ambassador, in whose lodging the conferences took place, and who exerted himself so successfully to compose all subjects of difference, that at last a complete reconciliation was effected. "And

Digitized by Google

now," said the successful diplomatist to Lord Burghley, "there remaineth but the castle to make the king universally obeyed, and this realm united, which, peradventure, may be done without force after the accord; notwithstanding, in my simple opinion, which I submit unto your honour's wisdom, it standeth with more reason and policy for her majesty to hasten the aid rather now than before this conference. I mean, so that it may be ready, if need require, to execute; otherwise not."

At this moment the fortunes of the Castilians seemed reduced to the lowest ebb, and disaster after disaster threatened to bring total ruin upon their cause. Verac, who had been commissioned to bring them relief from the French king, was driven by a tempest into Scarborough, and detained in England. Sir James Kirkaldy, Grange's brother, who had landed at the castle of Blackness, with a large supply of money, arms and military stores, was betrayed and seized; whilst the castle itself fell into the hands of the regent. The example of Huntly and the Hamiltons, in acceding to the king's authority, was speedily followed by the submission of the Lords Gray, Oliphant, the Sheriff of Ayr, and the Lairds of Buccleuch and Johnston; whilst in the north Huntly undertook to bring over to terms his gallant brother, Sir Adam Gordon, who, during the conferences at Perth, had surprised and routed the king's adherents at Aber-

Digitized by Google

deen. With this view the indefatigable Killigrew had hurried from Perth to the capital, where he obtained the regent's signature to the articles of pacification.

Even under all these gloomy appearances, the spirit of Grange was unbroken, and the resources of Lethington undiminished. A long experience of the parsimony of Elizabeth had persuaded them that she would never submit to the expense of sending an army and a battering train into Scotland. They looked with confidence to the arrival of assistance from France, and trusted that, even if long delayed, the strength of their walls would still bid defiance to the enemy.

For a brief season these sanguine anticipations seemed to be realised; and the Queen of England, at the moment when Burghley imagined he had convinced her of the necessity of sending her forces into Scotland, began to waver. She dreaded bringing on a war with France; represented to her council the great expense and hazard of the siege; and asserted that Morton ought to be able to reduce it without her assistance. Killigrew was in despair. He wrote instantly, that if the expedition were abandoned, Scotland would be lost to them, and as surely united in a league with France. Everything, he contended, proved this. Lord Seton had been already negotiating with the regent to win him to France. Wha-

Digitized by Google

had been Verac's late commission? To corrupt the garrison of Dumbarton, to bribe the governors of the young king, and to convey him out of Scotland. What was Stephen Wilson's message out of France, when he was lately seized, and his letters to the captain of the castle of Edinburgh intercepted? Did he not bring assurances from the French king and the Bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador in Paris; and had he not confessed the Pope's designs, and that of the rest of the Romish league, to be mainly directed against England and Scotland? Nay, were not the papal coffers already unlocked, and the man's name known who was shortly to bring the money and begin the attack? And would her majesty shut her eyes to all this, and this too at the very crisis when a decided effort, and no very great sum, might enable her to confound these plans and secure her ground in Scotland? Would she countermand her army, and abandon the advantages which were within her reach, or rather which she had already secured? "If so," said the ambassador, in the end of an eloquent letter to Burghley, "God's will be done. For mine own part, if this castle be not recovered, and that with expedition, I see, methinks, the beginning of sorrows, and her majesty's peaceable reign hitherto, decaying as it were in post, which God of His mercy defend. The reasons be so apparent, as I need not to trouble your honour with them, whose

Digitized by Google

shoulders, next her majesty's, shall not carry the least burthen, and therefore I pray God send you strength to overcome."

These arguments produced the desired effect; Elizabeth's parsimonious fears gave way under the alarming arguments of her ambassador; and orders were despatched to Sir William Drury, who had been chosen to command the enterprise, to have everything in readiness for the march of the army and the transport of the cannon at a moment's notice. A last attempt to bring the Castilians to terms was now made by the Earl of Rothes; but it led to no result. Kirkaldy and Lethington declared that, though deserted by all their friends, they would keep the castle to the last; and on the 25th of April 1573, the English army, consisting of five hundred hagbutteers, and a hundred and forty pikemen, entered the capital. They were joined by seven hundred soldiers of the regent's; and the battering train having at the same time arrived by sea, the operations of the siege commenced.

In the midst of these martial transactions, the regent assembled a parliament, which confirmed the league with England, ratified the late pacification, restored Huntly and Sir James Balfour to their estates and honours, and pronounced a sentence of treason and forfeiture against the Castilians. A summons of surrender was then sent to Grange in

Digitized by Google

the name of Morton and of the English general, and operations for undermining the "Spur" or block-house, and erecting batteries on the principal spots which commanded the walls, proceeded with little interruption from the besieged. Their obstinacy, indeed, was surprising, and can only be accounted for by the extraordinary influence which Lethington possessed, and his fatal conviction that succours would yet arrive from France. His power over Kirkaldy was described by Killigrew as something like enchantment; and although Robert Melvil, Pitarrow, and other leading men, would fain have come to terms—though they argued that their powder and ammunition were exhausted, their victuals and supply of water on the point of failing, and their distress increasing every moment—still the governor declared he would hold the castle till he was buried in its ruins.

On the 2d of May, Killigrew, who himself assisted in the trenches, wrote thus to Burghley:—"Yesterday I did advertise your honour of the end of the parliament. This day, Sir Henry Ley, with his company, dined with the regent; and upon Monday, the 4th of this month, the general doth intend to begin to plant his batteries. They within make good show, and fortify continually to frustrate the first battery, although the regent and others here be of opinion that they will never abide the extremity. Their

Digitized by Google

water will soon be taken from them when the ordnance shall be laid both within and without. Hope of succour there is none, and therefore their obstinacy must needs be vain. I send your lordship the roll of their names within, both tag and rag; and, as I am informed, eighteen of the best of them would fain be out." All such hopes of escape, however, were now utterly vain, for Drury perceived his advantage, and Morton had determined to receive nothing but an unconditional surrender. In England the result of the siege was regarded with deep interest, and many young cavaliers, amongst whom was Thomas Cecil, Burghley's eldest son, repaired from the English court to join the army and work in the trenches.

On the 17th of May the batteries were completed, and, beginning to play upon the principal bastion, named David's Tower, were answered by a long and loud shriek from the women in the castle, which was distinctly heard in the English camp. "This day," (17th May,) said Killigrew in one of his journal letters to Burghley, "at one of the clock in the afternoon, some of our pieces began to speak such language as it made both them in the castle, I am sure, think more of God than they did before; and all our men, and a great many others, think the enterprise not so hard as before they took it to be. . . . I trust, to be short, that after the battery shall be outlaid,

Digitized by Google

which, as they say, will be ready by the twenty-first of this month, the matter will be at a point before the end of the same. . . . Thanks be to God, although it be longsome, it hath hitherto been with the least blood that ever was heard in such a case; and this conjecture we have to lead us, that they want store of powder within, for they have suffered us to plant all the ordnance, and to shoot yesterday, all the afternoon, without any harm from them." . . .

From this time till the 23d the cannon played incessantly upon the castle, the guns of the garrison were silenced, and in the afternoon of that day the southern wall of David's Tower fell with a great crash; next day its east quarter, the portcullis, and an outer bastion named Wallace Tower, were beaten down; and on the 26th the English, with little resistance, stormed the "Spur" or blockhouse. Preparations were now made for a general assault; and Morton, who had determined to lead the Scottish forces, was exulting in the near prospect of laying hands upon his victims, when to his mortification Grange presented himself on the wall with a white rod in his hand, and obtained from his old friend and fellow-soldier, Drury, an abstinence of two days, preparatory to a surrender. This was in the evening, and a meeting immediately took place between Grange and Robert Melvil on the part of the Castilians, Killigrew and Drury for the Queen of England, and Lord Boyd for the regent

Digitized by Google

Kirkaldy's requests were, to have surety for their lives and livings, not to be spoiled of their goods within the castle, to have licence for Lord Hume and Lethington to retire into England, and himself to be allowed to remain unmolested in his own country.

To these conditions Drury would probably have agreed, but they were scornfully rejected by Morton. As to the great body of the garrison, he said he was ready, if they came out singly without arms, and submitted to his mercy, to grant them their lives, and permit them to go where they please; but there were nine persons who must be excepted from these conditions: Grange himself, William Maitland of Lethington the secretary, Alexander Lord Hume, Robert Melvil of Murdocairny, the Bishop of Dunkeld, and the Lairds of Restalrig, Drylaw, and Pitarrow. These must submit themselves unconditionally, and their fate be determined by the Queen of England, according to the treaty already made between her majesty and his sovereign.

This stern reply made it evident to these unfortunate men, that the regent would be contented with nothing but their lives; and, convinced of this, they rejected his terms, and declared their resolution to abide the worst. But this was no longer in their power, for the soldiers began to mutiny, threatened to hang the secretary over the walls within six hours if he did not advise a surrender, and were ready to

Digitized by Google

deliver the captain and his companions to the enemy In this dread dilemma an expedient was adopted, suggested probably by the fertile brain of Lethington. Grange, after refusing the terms in open conference, sent a secret message to Drury, in consequence of which two companies of the besieging force were admitted within the walls on the night of the 29th, and to them in the morning he and his companions surrendered: expressly stating that they submitted not to the Regent of Scotland, but to the Queen of England, and her general, Sir William Drury. They were accordingly carried to his quarters; and, notwithstanding some remonstrances upon the part of the regent, received with courtesy. Morton, however, was not thus to be balked of his prey. He instantly wrote to Burghley, warning him that the chief authors of all the mischief were now remaining, without condition, in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, entreating the queen's immediate decision upon their fate, and requesting them to be delivered to him that they might suffer for their crimes. Killigrew, too, had the barbarity to advise their execution; and Drury anxiously awaited his next orders. At this trying moment, Grange and Lethington addressed the following letter to one who had once been knit to them in ties of the strictest friendship, the Lord Treasurer Burghley:—

"My Lord,—The malice of our enemies is the more increased against us, that they have seen us ren-

Digitized by Google

dered in the queen's majesty's will, and now to seek refuge at her highness's hands. And, therefore, we doubt not but they will go about by all means possible to procure our mischief; yea, that their cruel minds shall lead them to that impudency to crave our bloods at her majesty's hands. But whatsoever their malice be, we cannot fear that it shall take success; knowing with how gracious a princess we have to do, which hath given so many good proofs to the world of her clemency and mild nature, that we cannot mistrust that the first example of the contrary shall be shown upon us. We take this to be her very natural, *Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.*

"We have rendered ourselves to her majesty, which to our own countrymen we would never have done, for no extremity [that] might have come. We trust her majesty will not put us out of her hands to make any others, especially our mortal enemy, our masters. If it will please her majesty to extend her most gracious clemency towards us, she may be as assured to have us as perpetually at her devotion as any of this nation, yea, as any subject of her own; for now with honour we may oblige ourselves to our majesty farther than before we might, and her majesty's benefit will bind us perpetually. In the case we are in we must confess we are of small value; yet may her majesty put us in case, that perhaps hereafter we will be able to serve her majesty's turn, which occasion being

Digitized by Google

offered, assuredly there shall be no inlack of good-will. Your lordship knoweth already what our request is; we pray your lordship to further it. There was never time wherein your lordship's friendship might stand us in such stead. As we have oftentimes heretofore tasted thereof, so we humbly pray you let it not inlack us now, in time of this our great misery, when we have more need than ever we had. Whatsoever our deservings have been, forget not your own good natural. If, by your lordship's mediation, her majesty conserve us, your lordship shall have us perpetually bound to do you service. . . . . Let not the misreports of our enemies prevail against us. When we are in her majesty's hands she may make us what pleaseth her. . . . . From Edinburgh, the 1st June 1573."

This letter produced no effect. Elizabeth, indeed, did not instantly decide, and requested particular information to be sent her of the "quality and quantity of the prisoners' offences;" but Killigrew and Morton so strongly advised their execution, that the queen commanded them to be delivered up to the regent to be dealt with as he pleased. This, as she must have known, was equivalent to signing their death-warrant. Before, however, the final order arrived, Lethington died in prison. It was reported that he had swallowed poison; but the rumour was uncertain, and was treated by many as an invention of his enemies.

Digitized by Google

Ten days after this, Drury reluctantly complied with the orders of Elizabeth, and delivered Grange, Hume, John Maitland, (Lethington's younger brother,) and Robert Melvil, to the regent; Grange's brother (Sir James Kirkaldy) being already in Morton's hands.

Much interest was now exerted to save the life of Grange, but without success: he had made himself too conspicuous, and his talents for war were much dreaded by his adversaries. A hundred gentlemen, his friends and kinsmen, offered for his pardon, to become perpetual servants to the house of Angus and Morton in "bond of manrent," a species of obligation well known in those times, and to pay two thousand pounds to the regent, besides an annuity of three thousand merks; but although Morton's prevailing vice was avarice, he was compelled to resist the temptation, influenced, as he stated in a letter to Killigrew, by the "denunciations of the preachers," who cried out that God's plague would not cease till the land were purged with blood. They were aware of the prediction of Knox, so recently uttered upon his death-bed, that Grange should be shamefully dragged from the rock wherein he trusted and hanged in the face of the sun. The success of Drury had fulfilled the first part, and the violence with which the ministers opposed every intercession for mercy, affords a melancholy proof of their determination that the second head of the

Digitized by Google

reputed prophecy should be as punctually accomplished.

Nor were they disappointed. On the 3d of August, Sir William Kirkaldy and his brother were brought from Holyrood to the cross of Edinburgh, and executed in the presence of an immense concourse of spectators. They were attended on the scaffold by Mr David Lindsay, a martial clergyman of those times, to whose hands, if we may believe Melvil, it was difficult to say whether the Bible or the hagbut were most congenial instruments. Grange received his ministrations with gratitude, and expressed on the scaffold deep penitence for his sins and unshaken attachment to his captive sovereign.

Thus died the famous Laird of Grange, a gentleman who, although his character will not bear examination if we look to consistency and public principle, was justly reputed one of the best soldiers and most accomplished cavaliers of his time.

The year 1573 was thus fatal to the cause of Mary, whose last hope expired with the execution of this brave man, and the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh.

Digitized by Google

Wars of Scotland—*Page* 196.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE BATTLE OF GLENLIVAT.

IN 1594 three lords, the Earls of Huntly and Errol, who had always professed the Catholic religion, and the young Earl of Angus, who had become a convert to that faith, were accused of corresponding with the King of Spain, and of designing to introduce Spanish troops into Scotland for the restoration of the Catholic religion. King James VI. ordered the Earl of Argyle to march against these Popish lords, along with the northern forces of Lord Forbes and others, who were chiefly Protestants.

On the 21st September, Argyle, having received the royal commission to pursue Huntly and his associates, set out on his expedition at the head of a force of six thousand men. Of this army, three thousand only were chosen men, bearing harquebuses, bows, and pikes; the rest being more slenderly equipt, both as to body-armour and weapons. Of cavalry, he had few or none; but he expected to be joined by Lord Forbes, with the Laird of Towey,

Digitized by Google

the Dunbars, and other barons, who, it was hoped, would form a strong reinforcement, and be mostly mounted. It had been the king's intention to postpone the attack upon the insurgent barons till he had assembled the whole force of his realm, and was ready to take the command in person. But the ministers of the Kirk urged the danger of delay: some of them even buckled on their broadswords and rode to the camp whilst Argyle himself, young, (he was only nineteen,) ardent, and acting under the stimulus of personal revenge, determined on instant action. He had already, he said, been twice on the eve of marching, and twice been countermanded; but now the slaughter of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Moray, should be avenged on Huntly; to whom he sent a message that, within three days, he meant to sleep at Strathbogie. To this taunting challenge Huntly replied, that Argyle should be welcome: he would himself be his porter, and open all the gates of his palace to his young friend; but he must not take it amiss if he rubbed his cloak against Argyle's plaid ere they parted.

On advancing to Aberdeen, Argyle ordered Red Lion, the herald, to proclaim the royal commission by sound of trumpet in the market-place, and appointed Sir Lauchlan Maclean of Duart to the chief command under himself. He was joined by the Macintoshes, the Grants, the Clan Gregor, the Mac-

Digitized by Google

gillivrays, with all their friends and dependants and by the whole surname of the Campbells; with many others, whom either greediness of prey or malice against the Gordons had thrust into that expedition. These, including the rabble of camp-followers, or, as Bowes terms them, "*rascals and poke-bearers*," formed a body of ten thousand strong. But of this number only six thousand were fighting men; and out of these there were not above fifteen hundred disciplined harquebusiers, chiefly serving under Maclean; the rest being promiscuously armed with dirks, swords, dags, Lochaber axes, two-handed swords, and bows and arrows. He had neither cavalry nor artillery; and a large part of his force was totally regardless of discipline, disdaining command, composed of chieftains and people distracted by old feuds and suspicions, marching, as described by an eye-witness, "at raggle and in plumps without order."

The earl had also along with him a noted sorceress, whose incantations, in the superstitious spirit of the times, were expected to bring to light the treasures which might be hid under ground by the terrified inhabitants.

With this army Argyle proceeded into Badenoch, and besieged the castle of Ruthven, belonging to Huntly; but the place was bravely defended by the Macphersons. He had no means of battering the walls; and abandoning the siege, he led his troops

Digitized by Google

through the hills to Strathbogie. It was his purpose to ravage this country, which belonged to Huntly, with fire and sword; and thence come down into the Lowlands to form a junction with Lord Forbes, who, with his own kin and the Frasers, Dunbars, Ogilvies, Leslies, and others, were at that moment on their way to meet him. With this object, he arrived on the 2d of October at Drimmin in Strathdown, where he encamped; and soon after received news that Huntly and Errol were in the neighbourhood, and proposed to attack him in spite of their great inferiority in force. The disparity was indeed great; for the Catholic earls could not muster above fifteen hundred, or, at most, two thousand men. But of these the greater part were resolute and gallant gentlemen, all well mounted and fully armed; and amongst them some officers of veteran experience, who had served in the Low Countries. They had, besides, six pieces of ordnance, which were placed under the charge of Captain Andrew Gray, who afterwards commanded the English and Scottish auxiliaries in Bohemia.

On the morning of the 3d of October, Huntly, who had marched from Strathbogie to Auchendown, the castle of Sir Patrick Gordon, having received word by his scouts that Argyle was at no great distance, sent Captain Thomas Kerr, a veteran officer, at the head of a small body of cavalry, to view the enemy

Digitized by Google

and report their strength. In executing this, he fell in with Argyle's "spials," and slew them all except one, who brought him to the vicinity of their encampment, which was near Glenlivat, in the mountainous district of Strathavon. On his return, Captain Kerr concealed the number of their opponents, affirming that a few resolute men might easily have the advantage; and Huntly, following his advice, instantly marched forward. Errol led the advance, supported by Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchendown, the Lairds of Gicht, Bonniton Wood, and Captain Kerr and three hundred gentlemen. Huntly commanded the rearward, having on his right the Laird of Clunie-Gordon, on his left Gordon of Abergeldie, and the six pieces of artillery so placed as to be completely masked, or covered, by the cavalry, so that they were dragged forward unperceived within range of the enemy's position. They then opened their fire; and on the first discharge, which was directed at the yellow standard of Argyle, struck down and slew Macneill, the Laird of Barra's third son, one of their bravest officers, and Campbell of Lochnell, who held the standard. This successful commencement occasioned extraordinary confusion amongst the Highlanders, to many of whom the terrible effects of artillery were even at this late day unknown! and a large body of them, yelling and brandishing their broadswords and axes, made some ineffectual attempts to reach the

Digitized by Google

horsemen; but receiving another fire from the little ordnance-train of Captain Gray, they took to flight, and in an incredibly short time were out of sight and pursuit. Still, however, a large body remained; and Argyle had the advantage not only of the sun, then shining fiercely in the eyes of his opponents, glancing on their steel coats and making the plain appear on fire, but of the ground; for his army were arrayed on the top of a steep hill covered with high heather and stones, whilst the ground at the bottom was soft and mossy, full of holes, called in that country peat-pots, and dangerous for cavalry. But all this did not deter Huntly's vanguard, under Errol and Auchendown, from advancing resolutely to the attack. Errol, however, dreading the marsh, made an oblique movement by some firmer ground which lay on one side, and hoped thus to turn the flank of the enemy; but Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchendown, urged on by his fiery temper, spurred his horse directly towards the hill, and getting entangled with his men in the mossy ground, was exposed to a murderous fire from the force under Maclean of Duart. This chieftain was conspicuous from his great stature and strength; he was covered with a shirt of mail, wielded a double-edged Danish battle-axe, and appears to have been a more experienced officer than the rest; as he placed his men, who were mostly "harquebusiers," in a small copsewood hard

Digitized by Google

by, from which they could deliver their fire, and be screened from the attack of cavalry. Auchendown, nevertheless, although his ranks were dreadfully thinned by this fire of the enemy's infantry, managed to disengage them, and spurring up the hill, received a bullet in the body, and fell from his horse; whilst his companions shouted with grief and rage, and made desperate efforts to rescue him. The Highlanders, however, who knew him well, rushed in upon him, despatched him with their dirks, and, cutting off his head, displayed it in savage triumph: a sight which so enraged the Gordons, that they fought with a fury which alike disregarded discipline and life. This gave an advantage to Maclean, who, enclosing the enemy's vanguard, and pressing it into narrow space between his own force and Argyle's, would have cut them to pieces had not Huntly come speedily to their support and renewed the battle; attacking both Argyle and Maclean with desperate energy, and calling loudly to his friends to revenge Auchendown. It was at this moment that some of the Gordons caught a sight of Fraser, the king's herald, who rode beside Argyle, and was dressed in his tabard, with the red lion embroidered on it, within the double tressure. This ought to have been his protection; but it seemed rather to point him out as a victim: and the horsemen shouting out, "Have at the Lion," ran him through with their

Digitized by Google

spears, and slew him on the spot. The battle was now at its height, and raged for two hours with the utmost cruelty.

Errol was severely wounded with a bullet in the arm, and by one of the sharp-barbed arrows of the Highland bowmen, which pierced deep into the thigh. He lost his pennon or guidon also; which was won by Maclean. Gordon of Gicht was struck with three bullets through the body, and had two plaits of his steel coat carried into him; wounds which next day proved mortal. Huntly himself was in imminent danger of his life; for his horse was shot under him, and the Highlanders were about to attack him on the ground with their knives and axes, when he was extricated and horsed again by Innermarkie; after which he again charged the enemy under Argyle, whose troops wavered, and at last began to fly in such numbers that only twenty men were left round him. Upon this the young chief, overcome with grief and vexation at so disgraceful a desertion, shed tears of rage, and would have still renewed the fight, had not Murray of Tullibardine seized his bridle and forced him off the field. Seeing the day lost, Maclean, who had done most and suffered least in this cruel fight, withdrew his men from the wood, and retired in good order; but seven hundred Highlanders were slain in the chase, which was continued till the steepness of the mountains

Digitized by Google

rendered further pursuit impossible. Such was the celebrated battle of Glenlivat. The loss on Huntly's side was mostly of gentlemen, of whom Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchendown, his uncle, "a wise, valiant, and resolute knight," was chiefly lamented. Besides him, twenty other gentlemen were slain, and some forty or fifty wounded; but the victory was complete, and recalled to memory the bloody fight of Harlaw, in 1411, between the Earl of Mar and Donald Balloch; in which, under somewhat similar circumstances, the superior armour and discipline of the Lowland knights proved too strong for the ferocious but irregular efforts of a much larger force of Highlanders.

During these transactions, the king, unconscious of this reverse, had left his palace at Stirling, and advanced with his army to Dundee, where Argyle, in person, brought him the news of his own defeat. James, however, was more enraged than dismayed by this intelligence. He knew that, from the exhausted state of the country, it would be impossible for Huntly to keep his forces together; and he swore that the death of a royal herald, who had been murdered with the king's coat on, should be avenged on these audacious rebels. Nor did he fail to keep his promise. In spite of the severity of the season, he advanced with his army to Aberdeen, attended by Andrew Melvil and a body of the ministers

Digitized by Google

of the Kirk, who, with the feeling that this was a crusade against the infidels, had joined the camp, and loudly applauded the meditated vengeance of the monarch. He thence pushed on to Strathbogie. The noble residence of Huntly, which had been fourteen years in building, was blown up with gunpowder, and levelled in two days, nothing being left but the great old tower, whose massive masonry defied the efforts of the pioneers; whilst its master, deserted by his barons and dependants, fled into the mountainous parts of Caithness. James had been much incensed against him by the scornful contents of an intercepted letter written to Angus, in which Huntly spoke of the king's rumoured campaign as likely to turn out a "*gowk's storm.*" Slaines in Buchan, the principal castle of Errol, who still lay languishing from his wounds; Culsamond in Garioch, the house of the Laird of Newton-Gordon; Bagays and Craig in Angus, the castles of Sir Walter Lindsay and Sir John Ogilvy, successively shared the fate of Strathbogie. Indeed, there is little doubt that the royal severity, whetted by the exhortations of Andrew Melvil, who bore a pike, and joined the soldiers in the destruction of Strathbogie, would have fallen still heavier on this devoted district, had not famine, and the remonstrances of Thirlstane and Glammis, compelled the king to fall back upon Aberdeen. Here, after the execution of some of Huntly's men, he pub-

Digitized by Google

lished a general pardon to all the commons who had been in the field at the battle of Glenlivat, upon their payment of the fines imposed by the council. He then appointed the Duke of Lennox to be his lieutenant or representative in the north, assisted by a council of barons and ministers. Amongst the civilians were the Earl Marshal, Lord Forbes, Sir Robert Melvil, and Sir John Carmichael, with the Lairds of Dunipace, Findlater, and Balquhan; whilst of the ministry were Mr David Lindsay, Mr James Nicolson, Mr Peter Blackburn, Mr Alexander Douglas, and Mr Duncan Davidson. A charge was next given to the barons and gentlemen who resided north of the river Dee, to apprehend all the rebels within their boundaries; and although in the greatest possible distress for money to pay his troops, the king, who trusted to the solemn promises of Elizabeth, made an effort to keep them together, and left behind him a body of two hundred horse, and one hundred foot, under the command of Sir John Carmichael. These were ordered to assist the Duke of Lennox, whose residence was to be in Aberdeen, Elgin, or Inverness, until Argyle, who had been appointed by James to the permanent government of the north, should assemble his friends and relieve him of his charge. Meanwhile, the duke was empowered to hold justice-eyres, or courts for the punishment of offenders; and the barons and gentlemen of the north bound themselves,

Digitized by Google

before the king's departure, in strict promises of support. Having completed these judicious arrangements, the monarch disbanded his forces, and returned to Stirling on the 14th November, having fulfilled all his promises to Elizabeth, and also having, by the exercise of great severity, more than fulfilled the expectations of the Kirk.

Digitized by Google

THE UNION

QUEEN ELIZABETH to the latest moment of her life, seemed willing to keep up the mystery as to her successor, and either evaded the question, or replied so obscurely, that it was difficult to divine her wishes. On the night, however, on which she died, Cecil made a last effort for the King of Scots; and accompanied by the Lord-admiral Howard, and the lord keeper, earnestly requested her to name a successor. Her answer was proud and brief: "My seat has been the seat of kings, and none but a king must succeed me." They urged her to be more explicit, and mentioned the King of France; but she was silent. They then ventured on the King of Scots; but she vouchsafed no sign. The Lord Beauchamp, the heir of the house of Suffolk, by his mother Lady Catherine Grey, was then spoken of; upon which she roused herself and said, with a look and flash of her former lion spirit, "I will have no rascal's son in my seat." Here, according to the account of Lady Southwell, one of her maids of honour, who stood at the moment beside the

Digitized by Google

bed, the important interview ended; and the queen never again spoke. But on the other hand, it was positively affirmed by Cecil, and the two lords his companions, that at a later hour of the same night she clearly declared by signs that the King of Scots alone ought to succeed her. When his name was mentioned, it is said she suddenly started, heaved herself up in the bed, and held her hands jointly over her head in manner of a crown. It is probable that this sign, given by the dying princess, was one of assent; yet, it is possible, also, that they who had seized the awful moment when her soul was hovering between the two worlds to torture her with questions, may have mistaken a movement of agony for one of approbation.

Soon after this she sunk into a state of insensibility, and about midnight fell into a placid sleep, from which she woke to expire gently and without a struggle. Cecil and the lords at Richmond, instantly posted to London; at six in the morning the council assembled; and on that same morning, before ten o'clock, King James the Sixth of Scotland, was proclaimed heir and successor to Elizabeth, both by proximity of blood, and, as it was now positively added, by her own appointment upon her death-bed. Sir Robert Carey, Lord Hunsdon's youngest son, a near relative and favourite of the queen, was at Richmond during her few last miserable days of suffering; and Lady Scrope, his sister, one of her ladies, watched

Digitized by Google

her royal mistress at the moment of her death. Both were friends and correspondents of the King of Scots, and it had been concerted between the brother and sister, that the distinction of being the first to announce the happy news to that monarch should be theirs. It was difficult, however, to cheat the vigilancy of Cecil and the council, who had ordered all the gates of the palace to be closed; but Carey was on the alert, ready booted and spurred; his sister stood beside the bed, watching for her mistress' last sigh; and the moment it was breathed, she snatched a ring from her finger, (it had been a gift from the King of Scots,) glided out of the chamber, and cast it over the palace window to her brother, who threw himself on horseback, and rode post into Scotland. The queen had died at three o'clock on Thursday morning, and Carey reached the palace of Holyrood on Saturday night, after the royal expectant had retired to bed. He was immediately admitted; and throwing himself on his knees, saluted James as monarch of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. The king asked for the token; and Carey, drawing the ring from his bosom, presented it in his sister's name. James then gave him his hand to kiss; and without evincing any unseemly exultation, bade the messenger good night, and composed himself to rest. Next morning, and for the two succeeding days, the news was not made public, as Carey's message was

Digitized by Google

not official; but on the third day, Sir Charles Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland, and Thomas Somerset, son of Lord Worcester, arrived with a letter from the privy council of England, announcing the death of the queen, the proclamation of James's accession to the throne, and the universal joy and impatience with which the people of England expected their new monarch. It assured him that their sorrow for their recent loss was extinguished by looking forward to the heroical virtues which resided in his person, laid at his feet the humble offering of their faith and obedience, and besought him, in his excellent wisdom, to visit them with all speed, that he might take possession of his inheritance, and inspire new life into its languishing body.

This great event was now communicated to the people, who received it at first with universal demonstrations of exultation and delight; and the king declared his determination to set out speedily for his new kingdom, leaving the queen and his children to follow at a slower pace. He committed the government of Scotland to the privy-council; intrusted his eldest son, Henry, now Prince of Wales, to the Earl of Mar; Prince Charles to Sir Alexander Seton, president of the Session; and the Princess Elizabeth to the Earl of Linlithgow. On the succeeding Sunday, James attended service in the High Church of St Giles, where a sermon was preached, in which the minister enum-

Digitized by Google

erated the many mercies poured out upon their prince; and described, as none of the least, his peacable accession to that mighty kingdom which now awaited him. The monarch himself then rose and delivered a valedictory address to the congregation, which, we are told, was often interrupted by the tears of the people. James, who was himself moved by these expressions of regret and affection, entreated his subjects not to be too deeply troubled at his departure; assured them that they should find the fruits of his government, as well afar off as when he had resided amongst them; pleaded that his increase in greatness did in nowise diminish his love; and promised them a personal visit once every three years; when the meanest as well as the greatest, should have access to his person, and permission to pour their complaints into his bosom.

This farewell oration was delivered on the 3d of April 1603. On the 5th of the same month, the king, surrounded by a large and brilliant cavalcade, composed not only of Scottish, but of English noblemen and gentlemen, who had hurried to his court with the proffers of their homage, took his departure from Edinburgh amid the lamentations of the citizens. His progress through England, which occupied a month, was one long and brilliant pageant. Triumphs, speeches, masques, huntings, revels, gifts, all that wealth could command, and flattery and fancy devise, awaited him at the different cities and castles

Digitized by Google

which he visited; and on the 6th of May, 1603, he entered London, accompanied by a numerous concourse of his nobility and councillors, guarded and ushered by the Lord Mayor and five hundred citizens on horseback, and welcomed by the deafening shouts of an immense multitude of his new subjects. It seemed as if the English people had in this brief period utterly forgotten the mighty princess, whose reign had been so glorious, and over whose bier they had so lately sorrowed. Not a murmur was heard, not one dissenting voice was raised to break the unanimity of his welcome; and thus, after so many centuries of war and disaster, the proud sceptre of the Tudors was transferred to the house of Stewart, with a tranquillity and universal contentment, which, even considering the justice of the title, was remarkable and unexpected.

In this memorable consummation, it was, perhaps, not unallowable, certainly it was not unnatural, that the lesser kingdom, which now gave a monarch to the greater, should feel some emotions of national pride; for Scotland had defended her liberty against innumerable assaults; had been reduced, in the long struggle, to the very verge of despair; had been betrayed by more than one of her kings, and by multitudes of her nobles; had been weakened by internal faction, distracted by fanatic rage; but had never been overcome, because never deserted by a brave, though rude and simple people. Looking back to her still remoter

Digitized by Google

annals, it could be said, with perfect historical truth that this small kingdom had successfully resisted the Roman arms, and the terrible invasion of the Danish sea-kings; had maintained her freedom, within her mountains, during the ages of the Saxon Heptarchy, and stemmed the tide of Norman conquest; had shaken off the chains attempted to be fixed upon her by the two great Plantagenets, the First and Third Edwards, and, at a later period, by the tyranny of the Tudors; and if now destined, in the legitimate course of royal succession, to lose her station as a separate and independent kingdom, she yielded neither to hostile force nor to fraud, but willingly consented to link her future destinies with those of her mighty neighbour; like a bride, who, in the dawning prospect of a happy union, is contented to resign, but not to forget, the house and name of her fathers.

PRINTED BY MORRISON AND GIBB LIMITED, EDINBURGH

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

SELECTED LIST OF BOOKS . .

Suitable for

Rewards . .
School . . .
Libraries . .
and
General . . .
Presentation

Published by

W. P. NIMMO HAY, and . . . MITCHELL . .

EDINBURGH

Digitized by Google

Nimmo's National Library.

In crown 8vo, with Steel Frontispiece and Vignette, handsomely bound, cloth extra, price 5s. each; also in full gilt side, back, and edges, price 6s. each.

1. **The English Circumnavigators: The most remarkable Voyages** round the World by English Sailors. (Drake, Dampier, Anson, and Cook's Voyages.) With a Preliminary Sketch of their Lives and Discoveries. Edited, with Notes, Maps, etc., by DAVID LAING PURVES and R. COCHRANE.

2. **The Book of Adventure and Peril: A Record of Heroism and** Endurance on Sea and Land. Compiled and Edited by CHARLES BRUCE, Editor of 'Sea Songs and Ballads.' Illustrated.

3. **The Great Triumphs of Great Men. Edited by James Mason.** Illustrated.

4. **Great Historical Mutinies, comprising the Story of the Mutiny** of the 'Bounty,' the Mutiny at Spithead, the Mutiny at the Nore, Mutinies in Highland Regiments, and the Indian Mutiny. By DAVID HERBERT, M.A.

5. **Famous Historical Scenes from Three Centuries. Pictures of** Celebrated Events from the Reformation to the end of the French Revolution. Selected from the works of Standard Authors by A. R. HOPE MONCRIEFF.

6. **The English Explorers; comprising details of the more famous** Travels by Mandeville, Bruce, Park, and Livingstone. With Map, and Chapter on Arctic Exploration.

7. **The Book for Every Day; containing an Inexhaustible Store** of Amusing and Instructive Articles. Edited by JAMES MASON.

8. **The Book of Noble Englishwomen: Lives made Illustrious by** Heroism, Goodness, and Great Attainments. Edited by CHARLES BRUCE.

9. **A Hundred Wonders of the World in Nature and Art, described** according to the latest Authorities, and profusely Illustrated. Edited by JOHN SMALL, M.A.

10. **A Book about Travelling, Past and Present. Profusely Illus-** trated. Edited by THOMAS A. CROAL.

11. **Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative of his Shipwreck and Dis-** covery of certain Islands in the Caribbean Sea. With a detail of many extraordinary and highly interesting events in his life, from the year 1733 to 1749. By JANE PORTER, Author of the 'Scottish Chiefs,' etc.

12. **The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties. By George Lillie** CRAIK, M.A.

13. **The Mothers of Great Men. By Mrs. Ellis, Author of 'The** Women of England,' etc. Illustrated by VALENTINE W. BROMLEY.

Digitized by Google

NIMMO'S 3s. 6d. UNIVERSAL GIFT BOOKS.

New and Enlarged Editions in Coloured Inks.

Full crown 8vo, gilt edges, Illustrated.

1. **Wallace, the Hero of Scotland: A Biography.** By James Paterson.
2. **Life of the Duke of Wellington.** By W. H. Maxwell, Author of 'Stories of Waterloo,' etc. Revised and abridged from the larger work.
3. **Life of Napoleon Buonaparte.** By John Gibson Lockhart, Revised and abridged from the larger work.
4. **The Life of Nelson.** By Robert Southey, LL.D. With Biography of the Author.
5. **The Life of Peter the Great.** By Sir John Barrow, F.R.S.
6. **Mungo Park's Life and Travels.** With a Supplementary Chapter, detailing the results of recent Discovery in Africa.
7. **Men of History.** By Eminent Writers.

   *** Views of the world's great men, in the best words of the best authors.
8. **Benjamin Franklin: A Biography from the 'Life'** by Jared Sparks, and the 'Life and Times' by James Parton.
9. **Stories about Boys.** By Ascott R. Hope, Author of 'Stories of School Life,' 'My Schoolboy Friends,' etc.
10. **Stories of Whitminster.** By Ascott R. Hope.
11. **Wild Animals and Birds: Curious and Instructive Stories** about their Habits and Sagacity.
12. **Stories of School Life.** By Ascott R. Hope.
13. **Almost Faultless: A Story of the Present Day.** By the Author of 'A Book for Governesses.'
14. **Violet Rivers; or, Loyal to Duty. A Tale for Girls.** By Winifred Taylor, Author of 'Story of Two Lives,' etc.
15. **Women of History.** By Eminent Writers.
16. **Christian Osborne's Friends.** By Mrs. Harriet Miller Davidson, Author of 'Isobel Jardine's History.'
17. **Silverton Court. A Tale.** By Winifred Taylor.
18. **Naomi; or, The Last Days of Jerusalem.** By Mrs. J. B. Webb, Author of 'The Child's Commentary on St. Luke,' etc.
19. **Severn-side. The Story of a Friendship.** By Edith E. Horsman.
20. **Home Influence. A Tale for Mothers and Daughters.** By Grace Aguilar, Author of 'Days of Bruce,' 'Woman's Friendship,' etc.
21. **Uncle Tom's Cabin. A Picture of Slave Life in America.** By Harriet Beecher Stowe.
22. **Ben-Hur. A Tale of the Christ.** By Lew. Wallace, Author of 'The Fair God.'
23. **Little Women.** By Louisa M. Alcott, Author of 'Jack and Jill,' 'An Old-Fashioned Girl,' etc.

Digitized by Google

Nimmo's New Half-Crown Series of Stories.

BY POPULAR AUTHORS.

In full crown 8vo, Illustrated, bound in cloth extra, gold and colours, gilt edges.

1. **Schoolboy Stories.** By Ascott R. Hope, Author of 'Stories out of Schooltime,' 'Stories of Whitminster,' etc.
2. **Stirring Adventure in African Travel.** By Charles Bruce.
3. **Graphic Scenes in African Story.** By Charles Bruce.
4. **John Lawrence: 'Saviour of India.' The Story of his Life.** By Charles Bruce.
5. **The Princess Ottilia. A Tale for Girls.** By Mrs. Herbert Martin, Author of 'Bonnie Lesley,' etc.
6. **Aubert; or, One Tiny Link.** By Jennie Chappell, Author of 'For Honour's Sake,' etc.
7. **Inspiring Lives. Biographies of the Great among Women.**
8. **In Jungle and Kraal.** By Arthur Lee Knight.
9. **Norrie Seton; or, Driven to Sea.** By Mrs. George Cupples.
10. **Our Fellows at St. Mark's.** A School Story by Walter C. Rhoades, Author of 'The Winning Hit,' etc.
11. **Cecil: The Boy who stood Between.** By Maude M. Butler.
12. **Stories of the Wild West.** By Ascott R. Hope, Author of 'Stories of School Life,' etc.
13. **Saved by a Secret.** A Story of Siberian Exile and Adventure. By Percy Ainslie, Author of 'Bertie Linton.'
14. **Tales of Old English Life.** By William Francis Collier, LL.D., Author of 'History of English Literature.'
15. **The Boys at Penrohn: A Story of English School Life.** By Mrs. G. Forsyth Grant.
16. **Heroes of Ancient Greece: A Story of the Days of Socrates the Athenian.** By Ellen Palmer.
17. **Burke's Chum. A Story of Thistleton School.** By Mrs. G. Forsyth Grant, Author of 'The Hero of Crampton School.'
18. **Ralph Denham's Adventures in Burma.** By G. Norway, Author of 'Tregarthen,' etc.
19. **Among the Torches of the Andes.** By Bessie Marchant, Author of 'In the Cradle of the North Wind.'

Digitized by Google

The Library of History, Travel, and Adventure.

In crown 8vo, cloth extra, price 2s. each; gilt edges, 2s. 6d.

1. **Travels and Discoveries in Abyssinia by James Bruce.**
2. **The Life and Travels of Mungo Park. With Supplementary Details of the Results of Recent Discovery in Africa.**
3. **A Voyage Round the World by Sir Francis Drake and** WILLIAM DAMPIER, according to the Text of the Original Narratives. Edited, with Notes, by D. LAING PURVES.
4. **A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1740–44 by George** ANSON. Edited, from the Original Narrative, with Notes, by D. LAING PURVES.
5. **Voyages Round the World by Captain James Cook. Edited,** with Notes, etc., by D. LAING PURVES.
6. **The Story of the Good Ship 'Bounty' and her Mutineers.** Mutinies in Highland Regiments.
7. **The Story of the Indian Mutiny (1857–58).**
8. **Feats on the Fiord. A Tale of Norway. By Harriet** MARTINEAU.

The Library of Biography.

Uniform in size and price with above. Each Volume having a suitable Portrait as Frontispiece.

1. **Risen by Perseverance: Lives of Self-Made Men.**
2. **Heroes of Invention and Discovery.**
3. **Lives and Discoveries of Famous Travellers.**
4. **Great Achievements of Military Men, Statesmen, and others.**
5. **Eminent Philanthropists, Patriots, and Reformers.**
6. **Gallery of Notable Men and Women.**
7. **Earnest Lives: Biographies of Remarkable Men and Women.**
8. **Teachers and Preachers of Recent Times.**
9. **Great Orators, Statesmen, and Divines.**
10. **Kings without Crowns; or, Lives of American Presidents.** With a Sketch of the American Constitution. By CHARLES H. EVANS.
11. **Lessons from Women's Lives.** By SARAH J. HALE.

The above Series of Books have been specially prepared in order to meet the rapidly increasing demand for instructive and wholesome literature of permanent value. They are admirably adapted for School Prizes, Gift Books, etc. etc.

Digitized by Google

'Blade and the Ear' Series.

ENLARGED.

Crown 8vo, Illustrated, elegantly bound in cloth extra, bevelled boards, price 2s. each.

1. **The Blade and the Ear. A Book for Young Men.**
2. **The Young Men of the Bible. A Series of Papers, Biographical and Suggestive. By Rev. JOSEPH A. COLLIER.**
3. **The King's Highway; or, Illustrations of the Commandments. By the Rev. RICHARD NEWTON, D.D., Author of 'The Best Things,' etc.**
4. **Nature's Wonders. By the Rev. Richard Newton, D.D., Author of 'The King's Highway,' etc.**
5. **Guiding Lights: Lives of the Great and Good. By F. E. COOKE, Author of 'Footprints.'**
6. **Heroes of Charity: Records from the Lives of Merciful Men whose Righteousness has not been Forgotten. By JAMES F. COBB, F.R.G.S., Author of 'Stories of Success,' etc.**
7. **Mountain Patriots. A Tale of the Reformation in Savoy. By Mrs. A. S. ORR.**
8. **Village Tales and Sketches. By Mary Russell Mitford, Author of 'Our Village,' etc.**
9. **The Standard-Bearer. A Tale of the Times of Constantine the Great. By ELLEN PALMER.**
10. **Stories told in a Fisherman's Cottage. By Ellen Palmer, Author of 'The Standard-Bearer,' etc.**
11. **Diversions of Hollycot; or, The Mother's Art of Thinking. By Mrs. JOHNSTONE, Author of 'Nights of the Round Table,' 'Clan Albin,' etc.**
12. **Philip Walton; or, Light at Last. By the Author of 'Meta Franz,' etc.**
13. **Picture Lessons by the Divine Teacher; or, Illustrations of the Parables of our Lord. By PETER GRANT, D.D.**
14. **Taken Up. A Tale for Boys and Girls. By Alfred WHYMPER.**
15. **Champions of the Reformation. Stories of their Lives. By JANET GORDON.**

Digitized by Google

The Boys' Own Library.

ENLARGED SERIES.

Crown 8vo, Illustrated, elegantly bound in cloth extra, gold and colours, bevelled boards, price 2s. each.

1. **The Hermit's Apprentice.** By Ascott R. Hope.
2. **The Far North: Explorations in the Arctic Regions.** By Elisha Kent Kane, M.D.
3. **Monarchs of Ocean: Columbus and Cook.**
4. **Noble Mottoes of Great Families.** By Charles Bruce, Author of 'Lame Felix,' etc.
5. **The Castaway's Home; or, The Story of the Sailing and Sinking of the Good Ship 'Rose.'** By Mrs. Hardy.
6. **Great Men of European History, from the Christian Era till the Present Time.** By David Pryde, LL.D.
7. **Afloat and Ashore with Sir Walter Raleigh.** By Mrs. Hardy, Author of 'Champions of the Reformation,' etc.
8. **Lame Felix. A Book for Boys.** By Charles Bruce.
9. **Life at Hartwell; or, Frank and His Friends.** By Katharine E. May, Author of 'Alfred and his Mother,' etc.
10. **Max Wild, the Merchant's Son; and other Stories for the Young.**
11. **Up North; or, Lost and Found in Russia and the Arctic Wastes.** By Mrs. Hardy.
12. **Angelo and Stella. A Story of Italian Fisher Life.** By the Rev. Gerald S. Davies.
13. **Seeing the World. A Young Sailor's own Story.** By Charles Nordhoff.
14. **The Miner's Son and Margaret Vernon.** By M. M. Pollard, Author of 'The Minister's Daughter.'
15. **How Frank began to Climb the Ladder.** By Charles Bruce, Author of 'Lame Felix,' etc.
16. **The History of Two Wanderers; or, Cast Adrift.**
17. **Memorable Wars of Scotland.** By Patrick Fraser Tytler, F.R.S.E.
18. **Job Carson's Portrait Gallery.** By Lucretia Maybury, Author of 'Sandy,' 'Ethelwyn's Light,' etc.

Digitized by Google

Two Shilling Library for Girls.

Crown 8vo, Illustrated, elegantly bound in new style, cloth extra, price 2s. each.

1. **Life's Crosses, and How to Meet Them.** Tales for Girls. By T. S. ARTHUR.
2. **A Father's Legacy to his Daughters, etc.** A Book for Young Women. By Dr. GREGORY.
3. **Labours of Love. A Tale** for the Young. By WINIFRED TAYLOR.
4. **Mossdale. A Tale for the** Young. By ANNA M. DE IONGH.
5. **Jacqueline. A Story of the** Reformation in Holland. By Mrs. HARDY (JANET GORDON).
6. **The Minister's Daughter,** and Old Anthony's Will. Tales for the Young. By M. M. POLLARD.
7. **The Two Sisters.** By M. M. POLLARD.
8. **A Needle and Thread. A** Tale for Girls. By EMMA J. BARNES. Author of 'Faithful and True; or, The Mother's Legacy.'
9. **Nonna. A Story of the Days** of Julian the Apostate. By ELLEN PALMER.
10. **An Earl's Daughter. A** Story for the Young. By M. M. POLLARD, Author of 'The Two Sisters,' etc.
11. **Doing and Dreaming. A** Tale for the Young. By EDWARD GARRETT.
12. **Vain Ambition; or, Only a** Girl. By EMMA DAVENPORT, Author of 'Our Birthdays,' etc.
13. **The Cottagers of Glen-**burnie. A Scottish Tale. By ELIZABETH HAMILTON.
14. **My New Home: A Woman's** Diary.
15. **Home Heroines.** Tales for Girls. By T. S. ARTHUR.
16. **The Roseville Family.** By Mrs. A. S. ORR.
17. **Leah. A Tale of Ancient** Palestine. By Mrs. A. S. ORR.

EIGHTEENPENNY BOYS' FAVOURITES.

New Editions, in small crown 8vo, cloth extra, elegant and characteristic binding.

1. **THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE.**
2. **THE HISTORY OF SANDFORD AND MERTON.**
3. **THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD.** Poems and Essays. By Oliver GOLDSMITH.
4. **THE FABLES OF ÆSOP AND OTHERS.** Translated into English; with Instructive Applications, by SAMUEL CROXALL, D.D.
5. **BUNYAN'S PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.**

Digitized by Google

Sunday-School Reward Books.

Small crown 8vo, cloth extra, in an entirely new and elegant binding, price 1s. 6d. each volume, Illustrated.

1. **One Hour a Week**: Fifty-two Bible Lessons for the Young.
2. **The Story of John Heywood**: An Historical Tale of the Time of Harry VIII. By CHARLES BRUCE.
3. **Lessons from Rose Hill**; and LITTLE NANNETTE.
4. **Great and Good Women**: Biographies for Girls. By LYDIA H. SIGOURNEY.
5. **At Home and Abroad**; or, Uncle William's Adventures.
6. **Alfred and his Mother**; or, Seeking the Kingdom. By KATHARINE E. MAY.
7. **Asriel**; or, **The Crystal Cup**. A Tale for the Young. By Mrs. HENDERSON.
8. **The Kind Governess**; or, How to make Home Happy.
9. **Percy and Ida**. By KATHARINE E. MAY.
10. **Three Wet Sundays with the Book of Joshua**. By ELLEN PALMER.
11. **The Fishermen of Galilee**; or, Sunday Talks with Papa. By ELLEN PALMER.
12. **From Cottage to Castle**; or, Faithful in Little. By the Author of 'The Red Velvet Bible,' etc.
13. **The Story of a Moss Rose**. By CHARLES BRUCE.
14. **The Children's Hour**: Talks to Young People. By CHARLES BRUCE.

SUNDAY AND WEEK-DAY REWARD BOOKS.

Small crown 8vo, cloth extra, new bindings, Illustrated, price 1s. 6d. each.

1. **The Sculptor of Bruges**. By Mrs. W. G. HALL.
2. **Christmas at the Beacon**: A Tale for the Young. By ELLEN PALMER.
3. **The Sea and the Savages**: A Story of Adventure. By HAROLD LINCOLN.
4. **The Swedish Singer**; or, The Story of Vanda Rosendahl. By Mrs. W. G. HALL.
5. **My Beautiful Home**; or, Lily's Search. By CHAS. BRUCE.
6. **Summer Holidays at Silversea**. By E. ROSALIE SALMON.
7. **Fred Graham's Resolve**. By the Author of 'Mat and Sofie,' etc. etc.
8. **Wilton School**; or, **Harry Campbell's Revenge**. A Tale. By F. E. WEATHERLY.
9. **Grace Harvey and her Cousins**.
10. **Evan Lindsay**. By Margaret FRASER TYTLER.
11. **Harvey Sinclair**; or, **A Lesson for Life**. By the Author of 'Fred Graham's Resolve.'
12. **The Boys of Willoughby School**. A Tale. By ROBERT RICHARDSON, B.A.
13. **Ruth Seyton**; or, **The Cross and the Crown**. By EDITH AWSBY.
14. **The Choristers of Ravenswood**. By ALICE JACKSON.
15. **A Goat-boy Baronet**; or, Cyril the Landless Laird. By JENNIE CHAPPELL.
16. **Bob's Heroine**. By Maude M. BUTLER.

Digitized by Google

WORKS OF THE
REV. RICHARD NEWTON, D.D.

In small crown 8vo, cloth extra, in an entirely new and elegant binding, price 1s. 6d. *each volume, Illustrated.*

1. **Bible Blessings.**
2. **The Best Things.**
3. **Bible Wonders.**
4. **Bible Jewels.**
5. **Rills from the Fountain of Life.**
6. **Leaves from the Tree of Life.**
7. **Pebbles from the Brook.**
8. **The Giants, and How to Fight Them; and Wonderful Things.**
9. **The Safe Compass, and How it Points.**

By the same Author. Price 2s. *each.*

The King's Highway; or, Illustrations of the Commandments.
Nature's Wonders.

NIMMO'S
NEW EIGHTEENPENNY SERIES
OF STORIES BY POPULAR AUTHORS.

In full crown 8vo, 176 pp. Illustrated.

1. **THE BROTHER-MIDDIES, AND SLAVERS, AHOY!** By Arthur Lee Knight, Author of 'Adventures of a Midshipmite.'
2. **THE GHOST OF REEDER'S WOOD.** By Maude M. Butler, Author of 'Waiting and Serving,' 'Cecil,' etc.
3. **DAISY RALSTON; or, 'A REGULAR TOMBOY.'** By Lucie E. Jackson.
4. **THE HERO OF CRAMPTON SCHOOL.** By Mrs. G. Forsyth Grant, Author of 'The Boys at Penrohn.'
5. **LITTLE WOMEN.** By Louisa M. Alcott, Author of 'Jack and Jill,' 'An Old-Fashioned Girl,' etc.
6. **LITTLE WIVES (LITTLE WOMEN MARRIED).** Being Part Second of 'Little Women.' By Louisa M. Alcott, Author of 'Jack and Jill,' 'An Old-Fashioned Girl,' etc.
7. **THE THORNES OF THURSTON.** By Lucie E. Jackson.
8. **IN THE CRADLE OF THE NORTH WIND.** By Bessie Marchant, Author of 'Dan,' 'Under Clearer Skies,' etc.

Digitized by Google

NIMMO'S ONE SHILLING REWARD BOOKS.

Small crown 8vo, cloth, with Frontispiece.

1. Four Little People and their Friends.
2. Elizabeth; or, The Exiles of Siberia.
3. Paul and Virginia. From the French of Bernardin Saint-Pierre.
4. Little Threads: Tangle Thread, Golden Thread, and Silver Thread.
5. Benjamin Franklin, the Printer Boy.
6. Barton Todd, and the Young Lawyer.
7. The Perils of Greatness: The Story of Alexander Menzikoff.
8. Little Crowns, and How to Win Them. By Rev. Joseph A. Collier.
9. Great Riches: Nelly Rivers' Story. By Aunt Fanny.
10. The Right Way, and the Contrast.
11. The Daisy's First Winter. And other Stories. By H. Beecher Stowe.
12. The Old Farmhouse. And other Stories. By M. M. Pollard.
13. Twyford Hall; or, Rosa's Christmas Dinner. By Charles Bruce.
14. The Discontented Weathercock. And other Stories. By M. Jones.
15. Out at Sea. And other Stories. By Two Authors.
16. The Story of Waterloo; or, The Fall of Napoleon.
17. Sister Jane's Little Stories. Edited by Louisa Loughborough.
18. Uncle John's First Shipwreck. By Charles Bruce.
19. The History of a Lifeboat. By Richard Rowe.
20. Blind Mercy, and Little Nat. By Gertrude Crockford.

NEW SHILLING BOOKS BY POPULAR AUTHORS.

In attractive Bindings, each with Frontispiece.

1. The Vulture's Nest. And other Stories. By Ascott R. Hope.
2. 'Dumps.' And other Stories. By the same Author.
3. A Night in a Snowstorm. And other Stories. By Charles Bruce.
4. Dick's Dog. And other Stories of Country Boys. By Ascott R. Hope.
5. Crossed with Silver. By Jennie Chappell.
6. Three School Friends. A Tale for Girls. By Edith Awsby.
7. The Maltese Cross. And other Tales for Girls. By Jennie Chappell.
8. Fred Leicester; or, The Southern Cross, and Charles's Wain. And other Stories. By Richard Rowe.
9. Our Sailmaker's Yarn. By Mrs. George Cupples.
10. Hero's Story. The Autobiography of a Newfoundland Dog. By Harriett Boultwood, Author of 'Acting on the Square,' etc.
11. Fairy Tales and True. By Alice F. Jackson.
12. Parables from Flowers. By Gertrude P. Dyer.
13. Bertie Linton; or, Lost in Japan. By Percy Ainslie.
14. All for Himself. A Story for Boys. By Harriett D. Boultwood.
15. Animal Adventures. By Ascott R. Hope.

Digitized by Google

NIMMO'S
NINEPENNY SERIES FOR BOYS AND GIRLS.

Square foolscap 8vo, with Illustrations, elegantly bound in cloth, price 9d. each.

THIS Series of Books will be found unequalled for genuine interest and value, and it is believed they will be eagerly welcomed by thoughtful children of both sexes. Parents may rest assured that each Volume teaches some noble lesson, or enforces some valuable truth.

1. **In the Brave Days of Old; or, The Story of the Spanish Armada. For Boys and Girls.**
2. **The Lost Ruby. By the Author of 'The Basket of Flowers,' etc.**
3. **Leslie Ross; or, Fond of a Lark. By Charles Bruce.**
4. **My First and Last Voyage. By Benjamin Clarke.**
5. **Little Katie: A Fairy Story. By Charles Bruce.**
6. **Being Afraid. And other Stories for the Young. By Charles STUART.**
7. **The Toll-Keepers. And other Stories for the Young. By BENJAMIN CLARKE.**
8. **Dick Barford: A Boy who would go down Hill. By Charles BRUCE.**
9. **Joan of Arc; or, The Story of a Noble Life. Written for Girls.**
10. **Helen Siddal: A Story for Children. By Ellen Palmer.**
11. **Mat and Sofie: A Story for Boys and Girls.**
12. **Peace and War. By the Author of 'The Basket of Flowers,' etc.**
13. **Perilous Adventures of a French Soldier in Algeria.**
14. **The Magic Glass; or, The Secret of Happiness.**
15. **Hawks' Dene: A Tale for Children. By Katharine E. May.**
16. **Little Maggie. And other Stories. By the Author of 'The Joy of Well-Doing,' etc. etc.**
17. **The Brother's Legacy; or, Better than Gold. By M. M. POLLARD.**
18. **The Little Sisters; or, Jealousy. And other Stories for the Young. By the Author of 'Little Tales for Tiny Tots,' etc.**
19. **Kate's New Home. By Cecil Scott, Author of 'Chrysie Lyle,' etc.**

Digitized by Google

Nimmo's Sixpenny Juvenile Books.

Foolscap 8vo, Illustrated, handsomely bound in cloth, price 6d. each.

1. *Pearls for Little People.*
2. *Great Lessons for Little People.*
3. *Reason in Rhyme: A Poetry Book for the Young.*
4. *Æsop's Little Fable Book.*
5. *Grapes from the Great Vine.*
6. *The Pot of Gold.*
7. *Story Pictures from the Bible.*
8. *The Tables of Stone: Illustrations of the Commandments.*
9. *Ways of Doing Good.*
10. *Stories about our Dogs.* By HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.
11. *The Red-Winged Goose.*
12. *The Hermit of the Hills.*
13. *Effie's Christmas, and other Stories.* By ADELAIDE AUSTEN.
14. *A Visit to Grandmother, and other Stories for the Young.*
15. *Bible Stories for Young People.* By ADELAIDE AUSTEN.
16. *The Little Woodman and his Dog Cæsar.* By MRS. SHERWOOD.
17. *Among the Mountains: Tales for the Young.* By ADELAIDE AUSTEN.
18. *Little Gems for Little Readers.*
19. *Do your Duty, come what will; and other Stories for the Young.*
20. *Noble Joe: A Tale for Children.* By ADELAIDE AUSTEN.
21. *Lucy Vernon, and other Stories for the Young.*
22. *Anecdotes of Favourite Animals told for Children.* By ADELAIDE AUSTEN.
23. *Little Henry and his Bearer.* By MRS. SHERWOOD.
24. *The Holidays at Wilton, and other Stories.* By ADELAIDE AUSTEN.
25. *Chryssie Lyle: A Tale for the Young.* By CECIL SCOTT.
26. *Little Elsie among the Quarrymen.* By ELLEN PALMER.
27. *The Lesson of Obedience.* By the Rev. RICHARD NEWTON, D.D.
28. *The Lesson of Diligence.* By the Rev. RICHARD NEWTON, D.D.
29. *Fergus: A Tale.* By Jacob ABBOTT.
30. *Gilbert and his Mother.* By JACOB ABBOTT.
31. *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain.* By HANNAH MORE.
32. *Emily Barton, and other Stories.* By CHARLES and MARY LAMB.
33. *Elizabeth Villiers, and other Stories.* By CHARLES and MARY LAMB.
34. *The Grateful Negro.* By MARIA EDGEWORTH.
35. *Forgive and Forget.* By MARIA EDGEWORTH.
36. *Waste not, Want not.* By MARIA EDGEWORTH.
37. *The False Key.* By Maria EDGEWORTH.
38. *The Bracelets.* By Maria EDGEWORTH.

Nimmo's Fourpenny Juvenile Books.

The above Series of Books is also kept in embossed and illuminated paper covers, beautifully printed in gold from entirely new designs, price 4d. each.

Digitized by Google

NIMMO'S FOURPENNY JUVENILE BOOKS.

SHORT STORIES FOR CHILDREN, by Mrs. SHERWOOD, JANE TAYLOR, RICHARD ROWE, etc.

Demy 18mo, cloth, Illustrated.

1. **George and his Penny**, by Mrs. SHERWOOD; and other Tales.
2. **Lucy and Her Mother**, by JANE TAYLOR; and other Tales.
3. **Getting on in Life**, and other Tales.
4. **Bessie Blake the Farmer's Daughter**, by RICHARD ROWE; and other Tales.
5. **The Busy Bee**, by Mrs. SHERWOOD; and other Tales.
6. **Try to be Happy**, and other Tales.
7. **The Story of the Rose**, by Mrs. SHERWOOD; and other Tales.
8. **Brave and True**, and other Tales.
9. **The Young Apprentice**, by JANE TAYLOR; and other Tales.
10. **Regie's Pony**, and other Tales.
11. **Emily's Temptation**, by Mrs. SHERWOOD; and other Tales.
12. **Philip's Day Dream**, and other Tales.
13. **The Orphan Boy**, by Mrs. SHERWOOD; and other Tales.
14. **The One Thing Needful**, and other Tales.
15. **Little Sins**, by Mrs. SHERWOOD; and other Tales.
16. **The Indian Chief**, and other Tales.
17. **The Little Dog Trusty**, and other Tales.
18. **The Kind Bear**, and other Tales.

NIMMO'S THREEPENNY JUVENILE BOOKS.

ILLUSTRATED.

SHORT STORIES FOR CHILDREN, BY WELL-KNOWN AUTHORS.

In neat cloth binding.

1. **The Pet Polyanthus.**
2. **Amy and Her Doves.**
3. **The Negro Servant.**
4. **Wat's Christmas at Home.**
5. **Blind Barty.**
6. **The Basket Woman.**
7. **Good for Evil.**
8. **The Orange Girl.**
9. **A Sunday in Jerusalem.**
10. **Daddy Goodluck.**
11. **Parley the Porter.**
12. **The Fortunate Young Lady.**
13. **The Orange Grove.**
14. **The Wreck of the Prospero.**
15. **The Fortune Teller.**
16. **The French Philanthropist.**
17. **Jim Brown.**
18. **Little Nat.**
19. **Annie's Fall.**
20. **The Fisherman's Son.**
21. **The Cherry Orchard.**
22. **Ernest; or, The Great Stone**
23. **Story of a Coward.** [Face.
24. **Value of Little Things.**
25. **Story of the Apples.**
26. **The Benevolent Schoolmaster.**
27. **Learning by Experience.**
28. **Lady Grizell Baillie.**
29. **Talks with Mr. Fairchild.**
30. **The Troublesome Friend.**
31. **Mrs. Fairchild's Story.**
32. **Sarah Martin.**
33. **Honour thy Parents.**
34. **The Poor Children's Friend.**
35. **Story about Envy.**
36. **The Orphan's Friend.**

Digitized by Google

NIMMO'S BIRTH-DAY BOOKS.

In Foolscap 16mo.

1. **Bible Words for Birth-Days**; Consisting of a Text of Scripture and Verse of Hymn for Every Day in the Year.
2. **Birth-Day Greetings**; Consisting of Poetical Extracts and Mottoes for Every Day in the Year.
3. **The Birth-Day Book of Wit and Humour**; Consisting of Witty and Humorous Extracts for Every Day in the Year.
4. **The Birth-Day Oracle**; or, **Whom shall I Marry?** Guesses at the Character and Appearance of your future Husband or Wife.
5. **The Little Folk's Birth-Day Book**; or, Something Good about Children, Child-life, Flowers, etc., for Every Day in the Year.
6. **A Cup of Blessing for Every Day in the Year.** A Birth-Day Book of Cheering and Consolatory Texts. By C. B.
7. **The Lyric Birth-Day Book.** Snatches of Song gathered from the Lyric Poets, and arranged for Every Day in the Year. By D. H.
8. **Mrs. Hemans' Birth-Day Book.** A Selection from the Poems of Felicia Hemans, arranged as a Daily Text Book.
9. **Birth-Day Chimes from Longfellow.** Six Hundred Quotations from his Poems, arranged as a Daily Text Book. By S. P. L.
10. **Birth-Day Chimes from Shakespeare.** A Text Book of Choice Extracts from his Works.
11. **Birth-Day Chimes from Burns.** Selections from the Poems, Songs, and Ballads of Robert Burns.
12. **What saith the Master?** A Daily Text Book in the very Words of our Lord. Selected by MAY COCHRANE.
13. **Birth-Day Texts from Wordsworth.** Passages for Every Day in the Year, from the Poems of William Wordsworth.
14. **Birth-Day Chimes from Scott.** Selected from the Poems and Tales of Sir Walter Scott.
15. **Birth-Day Chimes from Whittier.** Selections from the Poems of John Greenleaf Whittier. By J. R. E. P.
16. **The Keats Birth-Day Book.** Compiled by J. R. E. P.
17. **The Mizpah Birth-Day Book.** Daily Texts chosen from Holy Scriptures.
18. **The Birth-Day Book of Proverbs.** Serious — Humorous — Satirical. Edited by CHARLES BRUCE.
19. **Birth-Day Chimes from Tennyson.**

LIST OF STYLES AND PRICES.

		s.	d.
Cloth Extra,	gilt edges, ... price	1	0
,,	full gilt side and edges, . . . ,,	1	6
,,	padded (boxed), ... ,,	1	6
Paste Grain,	round corners, ... ,,	2	0
,,	,, padded, ... ,,	2	6
Armadillo,	,, ,, ... ,,	3	0
Morocco, padded,	. . . . . ,,	3	6
German Calf, padded,	. . . . . ,,	4	0
Tartan (Nos. 11 and 14 only),	. . . . ,,	2	6

Digitized by Google

NIMMO'S SIXPENNY BIRTH-DAY BOOKS.

In foolscap 16mo, cloth extra, red edges, price 6d.; and in Persian calf, gilt edges, 1s.

1. **HEAVENLY LIGHT. Cheering Texts from Scripture. A Birth-Day Book for Every Day in the Year.**
2. **BIRTH-DAY ECHOES FROM THE POETS. A Selection of Choice Quotations, arranged for Every Day in the Year.**
3. **DAILY MAXIMS. A Birth-Day Text Book of Proverbs and Wise Sayings. Selected from Various Sources.**
4. **THORN BLOSSOM. Quotations Grave and Gay, arranged as a Birth-Day Text Book.**
5. **SCRIPTURE SUNBEAMS. Helpful Texts for Every Day in the Year.**
6. **THE BIRTH-DAY GARLAND AND LANGUAGE OF FLOWERS. Snatches from the Poets in Praise of Flowers.**
7. **BIRTH-DAY WISHES FROM BURNS. (Also in Tartan, price 1s.)**
8. **THE JEWEL BIRTH-DAY BOOK. Compiled by Mary Donald.**
9. **THE BIRTH-DAY BOOK OF RIDDLES AND GUESSES. Compiled by MARY DONALD.**
10. **LITTLE BRIGHTEYES BIRTH-DAY BOOK. Compiled by MARY DONALD.**

DEVOTIONAL TEXT-BOOKS.

New Editions, crown 32mo, printed on antique laid paper, and neatly bound in cloth, price 6d. each; also in paste grain, gilt edges, 1s.

1. **SAINTLY WORDS. Being Devout Thoughts gathered from the Writings of A'KEMPIS, AUGUSTINE, and JEREMY TAYLOR.**
2. **LIGHT FROM THE SACRED PAGE. Being a Religious Text-Book in the very Words of Scripture.**
3. **WATCHWORDS FOR CHRISTIAN LIVING. Being Good Thoughts selected from the Best Religious Writers.**
4. **ACROSS THE RIVER. Scriptural Views of the Heavenly Home. By Dr. NORMAN MACLEOD, Dr. CANDLISH, etc. Miniature Edition Abridged.**
5. **COUNSEL AND COMFORT FOR DAILY LIFE. Selected from the Works of the Best Religious Writers.**

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

941 — T 99

Haverhill Public Library.

This book, unless marked "Seven day book," may be kept four weeks, and, if non-fiction, may be renewed once for four weeks. If it is fiction, or on the reserve list, it may not be renewed. It may not be transferred.

If this book is kept overtime, a fine of two cents a day will be charged. If sent for by messenger, the fine and twenty cents additional will be charged.

Borrowers finding this book mutilated or defaced will please report it.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google